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THE ECLIPSE OF THE
'ABBASID CALIPHATE

Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century

EDITED, TRANSLATED, AND ELUCIDATED

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1921



THE CONCLUDING PORTION OF

THE EXPERIENCES OF THE
NATIONS

BY

MISKAWAIHI,

*Office-holder at the Courts of the Buwaihid Sultans,
Mu'izz al-daulah, Rukn al-daulah, and 'Adud al-daulah.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC

BY

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

VOL. II.

REIGNS OF MUTTAQI, MUSTAKFI, MUTI'
AND TA'I'

Oxford.

BASIL BLACKWELL, BROAD STREET.

LONDON: 4 STATIONERS' HALL COURT, E.C. 4
1921.

CORRIGENDA.

66, *lines 12 and 8 from end for Lashkaristan read Lashkarsitan.*

205, *line 13, for ARSLAM read ARSLAN.*

395, *line 6, for 326 read 362.*

454, *line 6, for marrying the Caliph's read giving the Caliph his.*

THE EXPERIENCES OF THE NATIONS.

CHAPTER IV.

CALIPHATE OF AL-MUTTAQI BILLAH ABU ISHAQ IBRAHIM SON OF MUQTADIR.

When *RADI* was dead, the question of the succession was left standing until *ABU 'ABDALLAH KUFU* should arrive from *Wasit*. A guard was set over the Palace, and the orders of *BACHKAM* concerning the appointment to the Caliphate were awaited. A rescript came from him to *Kufi*, wherein he ordered *Kufi* to meet the person who had been *Radi's* vizier (*ABU'L-QASIM SULAIMAN B. HASAN*) and all persons who had held the office of vizier, the heads of bureaux, the judges, Witnesses, jurists, members of the families of 'Ali and 'Abbas, and the leading men of the place, and consult them about the appointment of a Caliph; only those might be nominated whose principles and conduct were commendable; and the person who was found to possess such qualifications was to be appointed. When they met some one mentioned *IBRAHIM* son of *Muqtadir*; and the meeting broke up without coming to any further decision that day. The next day *Bachkam's* letter was handed to a clerk, who read it aloud, and proceeded to nominate *Ibrahim*. *MOHAMMED B. HASAN B. 'ABD AL-'AZIZ HASHIMI* observed that this person was a son of *Muqtadir*, and asked whether the person mentioned in the letter must be a son of *Muqtadir*, or might belong to another family?—*Kufi* replied that the person possessing the qualifications was to be appointed, whoever he might be.—*Mohammed b. Hasan* then said that the matter ought to (3) be discussed in

private.—Accordingly Kufi rose, and went into a room, whither the others were admitted to him two at a time. To each pair he said : We have had a description of Ibrahim son of Muqtadir ; what do you say ?—Hearing this they had no doubt that the matter had already been decided, and that an order had come from Bachkam appointing him. So they all replied that he was worthy of the honour conferred upon him, or to that effect.

When Kufi had heard them all, he ordered Ibrahim to be fetched, to receive his formal appointment in the palace of Bachkam, and then to be conveyed to the Palace. Kufi himself descended thither. Various titles were suggested to Ibrahim, but he chose *AL-MUTTAQI LILLAH* “the God-fearing.” The people were made to swear allegiance, and he despatched the banner and the robe of honour for Bachkam by *ABU’L-‘ABBAS AHMAD B. ‘ABDALLAH ISPAHANI* to Wasit. This person put the robe on Bachkam when he got there, and took from him the oath of allegiance to Muttaqi.

Bachkam disbursed as accession-money to his followers half a term’s pay or less, but gave no gratuity to the clerks, the registrars, and their like. Further, before appointing Muttaqi Caliph he sent and abstracted from the Palace a horse to which he had taken a fancy and certain furniture which he coveted.

Muttaqi bestowed a robe of honour on *SALAMAH TULUNI*, whom he made Chamberlain, and retained *SULAIMAN B. HASAN* in the vizierate, of which indeed he had no more than the name ; the administration was in the hands of Abu ‘Abdallah Kufi.

This year there came news of the entry of *ABU ‘ALI IBN MUHTAJ* into Rayy at the head of the army of Khorasan, of his having put to death *MAKAN* the Dailemite, and having chased *WASHMAGIR* to Tabaristan,

Account of the cause of this.

Makan had been established in Kirman as the representative of the prince of Khorasan until he heard of the murder of (4) Mardawij. His troops were deserting to 'ALI B. BUWAIHI ('Imad al-daulah); that prince had become his neighbour; and Makan was anxious to recover his former dominions, Jurjan and Tabaristan. Journeying to Khorasan, he resigned the government of Kirman, and requested that he might be given that of Jurjan; his request being granted, he marched thither; at the time BAL-QASIM B. BAL-HASAN was governor of the province, representing Washmagir.¹ Makan further sent a letter to Washmagir couched in civil language, wherein he requested him to evacuate the territories which had formerly been in his (Makan's) hands, and invited him to resume friendly and peaceful relations.—Now Jilites and Dailemites were agreed that no braver champion or cavalier had ever appeared among them than Makan; this was acknowledged by all who were themselves conspicuous for gallantry. Makan's letter reached Washmagir at a time when he was low-spirited owing to the murder of his brother Mardawij, a disaster which was then fresh, and his fear of the ruler of Khorasan and further of 'Ali b. Buwaihi ('Imad al-daulah). He agreed therefore to evacuate Jurjan, and wrote to his representative Bal-Qasim b. Bal-Hasan, bidding him surrender the province to Makan. After a short period Makan further requested him to evacuate Sariyah as well, and to this too he consented. Thus a good understanding was established between Washmagir and Makan, whose cordial relations alarmed the ruler of Khorasan. Finally Makan threw off his allegiance to this prince and omitted his name from the Friday sermon. In consequence ABU 'ALI IBN MUHTAJ proceeded to Jurjan at the head of an

¹ See i. 276.

enormous army furnished by the ruler of Khorasan to fight Makan. Makan wrote to Washmagir to explain the situation and request help. Washmagir sent to his aid a powerful army, after which he presently despatched a second under SHIRAJ B. LAILA. Ibn Muhtaj besieged Makan, and presently reduced him to such straits that his followers ate the flesh of camels and mules.

The opportunity was seized by *HASAN B. BUWAIHI* (*RUKN AL-DAULAH*). Profiting by Washmagir's absorption in Makan's affairs, he aspired to seize Rayy. He wrote to Abu 'Ali Ibn Muhtaj, commander of the army of Khorasan, advising him to give the enemy battle, and promising his assistance. Similarly 'Ali b. Buwaihi ('Imad al-daulah) wrote to Abu 'Ali Ibn Muhtaj, giving the same advice, and promising to despatch his brother *Hasan* to Rayy at the head of a great force. (5) When Washmagir learned of this, he wrote to Makan to explain the situation, bidding him surrender Jurjan to the Khorasanites; he also wrote to Shiraj and his other officers bidding them retire. Makan obeyed his orders, Washmagir's entire army returned to Rayy, and while Makan retreated to Sariyah, Ibn Muhtaj took possession of Jurjan. A series of communications passed between Ibn Muhtaj and the two sons of Buwaihi, which resulted in a cordial understanding, and an agreement that they should proceed to make war upon Washmagir, when their two armies united and became a single army. Their numbers comprised 7,000 Dailemites and Jilites exclusive of Turks and Arabs; and they made a marvellous display of weapons, armour, machines and beasts. They co-operated in the management of affairs, Washmagir undertaking sole charge of payment and commissariat, and mustering of commanders and troops, since Rayy and its dependencies were in his hands, whereas Makan was in sole charge of operations in the field, and took his place in the centre.

Ibn Muhtaj proceeded on the Damaghan Road till he approached that place; the Dailemites and Jilites deployed their ranks, and the two armies spent the night in preparation, with the intention of joining battle the next morning. Washmagir had pitched a number of tents for the ranks, planted standards with flags, and furnished a repast for the troops; he assigned the chief place to Makan, who himself partook, offered food to others, and bade those whom he approved sit down. Washmagir remained standing or else walked backwards and forwards, according to their custom on such occasions.¹ Makan repeatedly asked him: Why, Abu Tahir, do not you eat with us and afterwards devote yourself to investigation?—His reply each time was: Abu Mansur, we are face to face with a crisis which will speedily be settled; if the decision be in our favour, then we shall presently be eating and giving to eat; if it be in some one else's favour, then he will be doing that. (The two princes treated each other as equals, addressed each other by their *kunyahs*, and maintained identity of rank in all matters). The repast was not over when it was announced that Ibn Muhtaj had left the locality, and was inclining from their front to Ishaqabad, to unite with the force which (6) had been despatched by Rukn al-daulah; for that force had proceeded by way of Qumm and Qashan. So they both proceeded at once in the direction of that village, and deployed their ranks there. By this time Ibn Muhtaj had arrived and arrayed his army in troops.

Account of a manoeuvre whereby an army which was in close formation was divided, so that the enemy penetrated, put it in disorder, and routed it.

Ibn Muhtaj gave orders to his followers to attack the centre, where was Makan with his picked troops, relent-

¹ Examples of Dailemite manners are given by Tanukhi. They do not seem to illustrate what is meant here.

lessly, and then give way before them and draw them on. He then ordered the detachments which were opposite the right and left wings to engage them mildly, yet sufficiently to prevent their reinforcing the centre ; they were not to force a decision, but to maintain their positions in this style. So his followers made a fierce attack on the centre, then gave way as though they were being routed, and so induced Makan and his followers who were in his centre to pursue them, quitting their line, and getting removed from the right and left wings, till a wide space was formed between them. Ibn Muhtaj then ordered the detachments which were facing the right and left wings to leave the troops which they were facing, and enter the space which had broadened out behind the centre ; while those who were facing the centre were told to charge and make a fierce onslaught upon it. This caused the defeat of the Dailemites who were caught between the detachments and could not escape ; they were at the mercy of Ibn Muhtaj's force. Makan had dismounted and was performing prodigies of valour, when he encountered a chance arrow, which struck him on the forehead, passed through helmet and head and came out at the nape of the neck. He fell dead. Washmagir and some of the cavalry got safely away to Sariyah. The rest were all either captured or killed.

Ibn Muhtaj now got possession of Rayy ; Makan's head with the helmet and the arrow therein was taken and conveyed just as it was to Khorasan, with the prisoners and the heads of the slain, in goodly number, according to some, about six thousand. Presently Makan's head was conveyed to Baghdad after (7) the decease of Bachkam, because Bachkam called himself after Makan,¹ by whom he claimed that he had been reared. He had made a great display of grief when he heard of Makan's death, and received visits of consolation. After Bachkam's decease the head of Makan with

¹ *i.e.* called himself al-Makani. See Yaqut, *Geogr. Dict.* i. 532, 17.

the arrow and the helmet was brought to Baghdad by ABU'L-FADL 'ABBAS B. SHAQIQ, some time official messenger between the governors of Khorasan and the Sultan. This was in the year 329.

Account of an error committed by Ibn Muhtaj in placing confidence in a strange army, in consequence of which many of his followers were slain, his baggage was plundered and he himself escaped with his life.

HASAN B. FAIRUZAN was the son of Makan's uncle, and had enjoyed Makan's patronage. He resembled his cousin in courage, only he was fierce, foolhardy and rough. When Makan was killed, he was requested by Washmagir to become his subject and join his party. Hasan b. Fairuzan declined to do this; further not content with rejecting his advances, he proceeded to revile him, declaring that it was Washmagir who betrayed Makan to his death, and abandoned him to save his own life. By offensive speeches of this sort he forced a quarrel between himself and Washmagir, who proceeded to Sariyah, where Hasan b. Fairuzan was at the time, with hostile intent; Hasan b. Fairuzan left Sariyah and went to Ibn Muhtaj, whose service he proposed to enter, and whom he urged to proceed against Washmagir. He was kindly received by Ibn Muhtaj, who helped him to attack that prince; the forces met outside Sariyah and there was continuous fighting for some days, when Ibn Muhtaj received news of the decease of NASR B. AHMAD, ruler of Khorasan; so he made peace with Washmagir, one of whose sons named SALAR he took as hostage, and after coming to terms on various matters he departed for Khorasan, taking with him Hasan b. Fairuzan, who was by no means satisfied with his proceedings, having desired him to finish the war and appoint him (Hasan) as his deputy before making his way to Khorasan; when however Ibn Muhtaj rejected his proposals, he let himself be dragged in Ibn Muhtaj's

train harbouring resentment, and designing to fall upon him in an unguarded moment on the way. So when they reached the boundary between the territory of (8) Jurjan and Khorasan, *Hasan* fell upon Ibn *Muhtaj* and attacked his army, meaning to kill him. Ibn *Muhtaj* escaped, but his chamberlain was killed, and his baggage plundered; *Hasan* also recovered the hostage given by *Washmagir*, *i.e.* his son *Salar*, and returning to Jurjan made himself master of that province, of the districts of *Damaghan* and *Simnan*, and of the fortress which served as his stronghold. Meanwhile *Washmagir* had proceeded to *Rayy*, and recovered possession of it.

When *Hasan b. Fairuzan* had dealt in this fashion with Ibn *Muhtaj*, he endeavoured to resume friendly relations with *Washmagir*, making advances by restoring to him his son who had been hostage with Ibn *Muhtaj*, hoping to have his support against the *Khorasanites* in the event of their renewing the war against him. *Washmagir* received his son, but gave an ambiguous answer to his proposals, making no promise which violated the conditions which had been imposed upon him by Ibn *Muhtaj*.

Presently *Rukn al-daulah* made an attack on *Rayy*, and engaged *Washmagir*, who was routed, and after the desertion of most of his forces to *Rukn al-daulah* proceeded to *Tabaristan*. Taking advantage of *Washmagir's* weakness *Hasan b. Fairuzan* marched against him; the remainder of *Washmagir's* forces deserted to *Hasan*, and *Washmagir* fled to *Khorasan* *via* *Mount Shahriyar*. When he reached *Khorasan*, *Hasan b. Fairuzan* thought it prudent to make advances to *Rukn al-daulah* and go over to his side. He sent an envoy to that prince, desiring an alliance; and to this *Rukn al-daulah* assented. A marriage was in consequence arranged between *Rukn al-daulah* and the daughter of *Hasan b. Fairuzan*, who became the mother of his son 'Ali (*Fakhr al-daulah*).

In this year the Mosque of Baratha was finished and the Friday service celebrated there.¹

This year prices in Baghdad were very high, a *kurr* of flour reaching 130 dinars. The people ate grass, and there were numerous deaths; so much so that several persons were buried in one grave without washing or prayer. Some of the inhabitants exhibited piety, bestowing alms and furnishing grave-clothes; others, more numerous, rioted and plundered.

(9) In this year the Rufil and Buq Canals burst their banks. No trouble being taken to repair them, Baduriyya was devastated by these two breaches for more than ten years.

In this year too Bachkam was killed.

Account of the cause of his death.

Baridi's army had arrived at Madhar, and Bachkam sent a force to meet it under the command of NUSHTAKIN and TUZUN. There was a fierce engagement between them, which at first went against Bachkam's followers, who wrote to him requesting him to join them. Accordingly on Wednesday 14 Rajab (April 14, 941) Bachkam left his residence in Wasit with the view of proceeding to Madhar in order to join his troops and followers. A despatch reached him from Tuzun and Nushtakin announcing their victory and the rout of Baridi's army, adding that there was no further occasion to trouble Bachkam. He sent their despatch to Baghdad, where a report was composed and read from the pulpits.

Bachkam had bethought him of returning from the place at which he had received the despatch, and his

¹ Baratha was a suburb W. of Baghdad, and S. of the Muhawwal Gate. In Yaqut's time it was completely deserted, though the traces remained of this Mosque, which occupied the site of a minor mosque belonging to the shi'ah, who assembled there to revile the Prophet's Companions. This was razed to the ground by Radi, but rebuilt by order of Bachkam. Yaqut, *Geogr. Dict.* i. 582.

stores had already been sent on ; but Abu Zakariyya Susi advised him to go back, suggesting that he should proceed and hunt. He accepted this suggestion ; and when he reached the Jur Canal, he learned that there were there certain (10) wealthy Kurds. This excited his cupidity ; and despising their strength he attacked them with a small body of his retainers, being himself clad in a *qaba* without lining and without a *jubbah*. The Kurds fled in all directions ; he shot at one of them and missed and at another and again missed ; a Kurdish lad by a circular movement got behind him, and not knowing who he was plunged a spear into his waist, which caused his death. The scene was a spot between 7ib and Madhar, and the date Wednesday—9 Rajab (April 21, 941). His army fell into grave disorder ; the Dailemite troops in particular, who were 1500 in number, deserted (11) to Baridi, who welcomed them and at once doubled their pay.

The Baridis had been meditating flight, since Basrah had become no longer tenable for them, owing to a message sent by Bachkam to the inhabitants whereby their fears of him had been allayed. The three were assembled in Matara ; the news of Bachkam's death greatly relieved their anxiety. Bachkam's Turkish troops returned to Wasit, whence Takinak led them to Baghdad, where quarters were assigned them in Najmi.¹ They professed loyalty to Muttaqi. AHMAD B. MAIMUN, formerly secretary to Muttaqi, became manager of affairs, under whom Abu 'Abdallah Kufi now served. The period during which the latter had been secretary to Bachkam and manager of the empire was five months and eighteen days ; whereas the emirate of Bachkam had lasted two years, eight months and nine days.

Muttaqi sent a number of his chamberlains to take charge of Bachkam's palace ; but he laid hands on none

¹ Part of the region called Baduriyya.

of its contents for fear lest some fresh intelligence should arrive about Bachkam, contradicting the former ; only when he felt sure of his death, the Caliph summoned Yakaq, a friend of Takinak, who made a list of the places wherein Bachkam's treasures were buried. Asked how he came to know them, he explained that Bachkam used to remove money from the Treasury which he (Yakaq) guessed must be meant for a buried hoard, and he would then secretly follow Bachkam's track. When he had indicated the chamber which contained the buried hoard, and the place where he supposed the treasure to lie, he asked to be accompanied by a trustworthy person ; he was accordingly sent with Muttaqi's eunuch NAJAH, and they unearthed a vast treasure in large jars, partly gold and partly silver. When he had finished his discoveries, he offered the diggers the mould as their reward ; they declined to take it. So he assigned them 2000 dirhems, and then ordered the mould to be washed, and out of it 36,000 dirhems were extracted.¹ Bachkam, not content with what he had buried in houses, had hidden other treasures in the fields ; and there was a story current that when he buried anything in a field, he would kill any assistant who was with him, lest the man should reveal his hoard at some other time. Bachkam heard of this report and it astonished him.

(12) SINAN B. THABIT narrates how Bachkam said to him : I thought about the treasure which I have buried in my palace, and it occurred to me that some accident might prevent my having access to my palace, in which case I should lose not only my property but my life, since one in my position cannot live without wealth. So I buried some in the country, knowing that I could not fail to have access to the country. I have been informed that people defame me with a story that I murder my companions on these occasions ; I assure you that I have never killed any one in that way. I will tell you

¹ It is not clear whether the author means coins or gold dust.

what I used to do. When I wished to make an expedition for the purpose of burying treasure, I used to have mules laden with empty chests brought to my palace. In some of the chests I would place the treasure, after which I would lock them. Into the rest I would introduce the men who were to accompany me, while they were on the mules' backs ; I would then cover the chests, lock them and lead the mules, taking the rope which led the train, and sending away the attendants of the mules, which I would myself lead to the place which I wanted. When I was by myself in the middle of the country, I would let the men out of the chests, they having no idea where they were ; I would then have the treasure taken out and buried in my presence, while I made some private marks. After this I would make the men get back into their chests, which I would then cover and lock. I would then lead the mules to such place as I chose, and there let the men out. They neither knew where they had gone nor by what way they had returned, and no murder was necessary.

Muttaqi appointed as his vizier Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Mohammed b. Maimun and bestowed on him a robe of honour. The latter chose as his deputy Abu 'Abdallah Kufi. Search was made for Takinak, who went into hiding. The Interpreter¹ arrived from Wasit and was confirmed by Muttaqi in the prefecture of the Baghdad police.

In the same year after the death of Bachkam the Baridis ascended the river from Basrah.

Account of their expedition and its result.

When Bachkam had been killed, there was a dissension among his troops. The Dailemites chose as their head BALSUWAR (13) B. MALIK B. MUSAFIR KANKRI who was assaulted and murdered by the Turks. The Dailemites thereupon deserted in a body, and joined Abu

¹ Mohammed b. Yanal.

'Abdallah Baridi in Basrah, to the number of 1500, all picked men, with no unfit person among them. This gave an accession of strength to Baridi, who resolved to employ them against the Sultan. They brought the number of his troops up to 7000. The Baridis then ascended the river to Wasit, where a message reached them from Muttaqi, ordering them to stay in Wasit and ascend no higher. Their reply was: *We require pay for the troops; send us what will satisfy them and we will stay.* Muttaqi proceeded to despatch to them Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad, after restoring him his estate,¹ accompanied by 'Abdallah b. Yunus, head of the Treasury. Takinak also descended the river with the party without knowledge of Muttaqi.

The Bachkamite Turks and JANKATI, who had deserted to Muttaqi from Baridi, told Muttaqi that they were ready to fight the Baridis if they came, and requested him to give them their pay and appoint some one to command them. Muttaqi disbursed for their payment and the veteran troops of the capital 400,000 dinars out of the funds which had been discovered in Bachkam's hoards; and he appointed as their commander SALAMAH TULUNI the Chamberlain. They marched out with Muttaqi to the Diyala Canal. 'Abdallah b. Yunus returned with the reply of the Baridis, who demanded money; the Caliph transmitted to them 150,000 dinars also out of Bachkam's hoards. Baridi accepted the money, but declared that he required half a million dinars. If this sum were not transmitted the Dailemites would give him no rest; in any case he was advancing, but if he were met by the money, he would retire; otherwise he would proceed to the capital.

When Baridi's message was delivered, Muttaqi said: I have spent 450,000 dinars on the Turks, and a large sum on the others; whence can I give him what he

¹ See i. 416.

demands? Let him come to the capital and do what he wishes. I hope however that he will be unable to do me any mischief.—So Abu 'Abdallah Baridi advanced from Wasit in the direction of the capital; when he came near it, the Turks who had been in Bachkam's employ became disorderly, struck (14) their tents, and while some of them deserted to Baridi, others with Jankati proceeded to Mausil. Salamah¹ entered Baghdad. Abu 'Abdallah Kufi, Salamah the Chamberlain, and Mohammed b. Yanal the Interpreter, all went into hiding, and the prefecture of police which had been held by the last of these was taken over by AHMAD B. KHAQAN. The vizier Ahmad b. Maimun grieved over the 400,000 dinars that had been wasted. The people dreaded Baridi's violence, recklessness and cupidity, and men of fortune meditated emigrating.

The following story was told by an intimate associate of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa: During those days, he said, I was in attendance on him and he had with him his children, his brother, and his intimate friends. We were discussing the doings of Baridi and his advance on the capital, and remarking on his courage, dash, and recklessness, and his practice of shoeing men like horses. The company urged him not to remain in Baghdad, but to start with his family for Mausil to take refuge with Abu Mohammed Hasan b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan. We did our best to alarm him, but he would not at first listen to our advice; when however we had repeated it often, he began to give way. Presently he handed me two hundred dinars with which I was early next morning to hire boats wherein he and his family could ascend the river to Mausil; but at dawn a messenger came from him summoning me to his presence. I went to him, and in reply to his question informed him that I had been unable to carry out his instructions owing to my being summoned so early by his messenger. He said: Never

¹ He was commander of these troops.

mind ; I was thinking yesterday about what you had advised, and found it to be improper and impious. Should creature flee for refuge to creature ? Spend the money on charitable objects, for I mean to stay.—I restored the money to his treasury and he stayed. When Baridi approached, he descended the river to meet him, and was received with high honour by Baridi, who paid him the respect that was his due. Baridi would not permit 'Ali b. 'Isa to leave his barge, but left his own to visit him, thanked him for his kindness and addressed him in the most complimentary and respectful language.

Abu 'Abdallah Baridi now entered Baghdad accompanied by his brother Abu'l-Husain and his son Abu'l-Qasim, (15) also by Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad, on Tuesday 2 Ramadan (May 31, 941). They took up their quarters in the garden of Shafi'.¹ Baridi was met by the vizier Ahmad b. Maimun, the Clerks, office-holders, judges and notables. He had with him an innumerable fleet of *shadha'ah*, barges, *hudaidiyyah*, and *zabzab*. Muttaqi sent to express his gratification at his arrival, and ordered food, drink and other gifts to be conveyed to him for a number of nights. Herein Baridi was receiving the honours paid to an Emir.² Mohammed b. Yanal the Interpreter now showed himself ; and the people addressed Abu 'Abdallah Baridi as Vizier, while they gave the same title to Ahmad b. Maimun. At first Ahmad b. Maimun presented himself to Baridi wearing the sword, the *qaba* and the belt³ ; and each addressed the other as Vizier. Presently however Ahmad b. Maimun took to wearing the *durra'ah*, and abandoned the title Vizier by agreement with the Caliph. This took place on 6 Ramadan (June 4, 941). He had held the office 33 days. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi was now sole vizier.

¹ Doubtless one of the freedmen of whom so much is recorded in vol. i.

² The text has " to a Caliph," but the custom of sending the newly-appointed Emir al-umara food from the Caliph's Palace is the subject of allusions in vol. i., e.g. p. 351.

³ The vizier's uniform,

On Wednesday 10 Ramadan (June 8)¹ Ahmad b. Maimun with his son Abu'l-Fadl presented himself at the saloon of the vizier Baridi. Baridi had arranged that on the appearance of Ahmad b. Maimun the commanders should assemble, and, after reproaching him, spring upon him and threaten him with death, declaring that he had been setting the Caliph against them, and poisoning his mind. The Dailemites did as they had been told on this day, and the vizier kept mollifying them, and assuring them that they had been misinformed about Ahmad b. Maimun. He then addressed Ahmad b. Maimun and his son, bidding them enter the corridor, leading them to suppose that he wanted to rescue them from violence; but when they had entered the corridor, he placed them under guard; the commanders then withdrew, and the ex-vizier with his son found themselves arrested. After some days Baridi informed Ahmad b. Maimun that he had appointed him inspector of Wasit, with a stipend of 1000 dinars a month, and bade him depart with his son to his province. They were conveyed to Wasit and thence to Basrah.

After the arrest of Ahmad b. Maimun Muttaqi appointed as his private secretary ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD (16) B. 'ABDALLAH ISPAHANI. Shortly after Ahmad b. Maimun fell ill in Basrah and died.

During the whole of Baridi's stay in Baghdad he had no audience of Muttaqi, nor once entered the Sultan's Palace. Muttaqi's son the prince ABU MANSUR paid him a visit of salutation when he was in Najmi; Baridi put on a black *qaba* and a black turban, and met the prince in splendid style, with a shower of dinars and dirhems. Baridi the vizier sent a message to Muttaqi through the qadi AHMAD B. 'ABDALLAH B. 'ABBAS KHIRAQI and Abu'l-'Abbas Ispahani, demanding a subvention; and Muttaqi transmitted 150,000 dinars,

¹ A Tuesday according to Wüstenfeld.

which Baridi accepted ; but he sent a further message, stating that he required half a million. Muttaqi hesitated ; Baridi then said to the qadi : Give him sound advice, asking him whether he has never heard the story of Mu'tazz or of Muhtadi or of Mutawakkil ?¹ I can assure him that if I leave him to the officers, he will look for his soul and not be able to find it. He must see clearly that the Dailemites had come to Baghdad only for the sake of the money which the Caliph had taken,² and to which they thought they had a better right than he. They recognized no oath of allegiance and he had no claim to their gratitude. The Caliph's reply to this message was to yield to the demand ; he transmitted the half million, the whole of which was exacted by Baridi by the end of Ramadan, and out of it he presented the qadi Khiraqi with 5000 dinars.

When the Baridis had obtained this money, the cupidity of the whole army was directed thereto ; Baridi kept sending the troops to demand (17) money from the Caliph, and encouraged them to mutiny. When he had confiscated the Sultan's wealth, his plan turned to his own hurt, as the army began to clamour against him. On Sunday the last day but one of Ramadan (June 27, 941) the Dailemites had met together and appointed as their chief KURANKIJ B. FARADI ; the Turks appointed TAKINAK, retainer of Bachkam, as theirs. The Dailemites then went off in a body to the Sultan's Palace, and burned the house wherein Abu'l-Husain Baridi had established himself.

The army grew disaffected towards Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, and Takinak went over to the Dailemites and they agreed to act together. The reason of this was that Takinak had little authority over the Turks, so Kurankij sent him a treacherous message to the effect that if each

¹ All three had been deposed and killed by officers of the Turkish bodyguard.

² From Bachkam's hoards.

of them remained in isolation, they would be weak ; my opinion then, he said, is that we should unite and co-operate.—Takinak was deceived by this, came over to Kurankij, and their forces united ; when Kurankij had got him in his power he very soon put him under arrest ; only at first, after their forces had united, he made use of his assistance, arranging with him to attack Baridi and plunder his hoards. Having agreed on this scheme they made a joint attack upon Najmi, wherein they were helped by the populace. The vizier Baridi cut the bridge ; a battle was fought on the water, and the populace on the Western bank attacked Baridi's dependents, and in the course of the attack Na'jah the Qarmatian was killed. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, his brother and his son fled down stream to Wasit. The house of the first in Najmi was pillaged, as were the houses of his officers ; and among the plunder was some of the money which had been transmitted to Baridi by Muttaqi on that day. For his flight was on Monday the last day of Ramadan (June 28, 941), and the last instalment of the money had been paid on that day. Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad went into hiding, and his house was plundered ; Salamah Tuluni and Badr Kharshani showed themselves. The period during which Baridi had borne the title vizier was 24 days.

After the flight of Baridi the Emirate was bestowed on KURANKIJ on Wednesday 2 Shawwal (June 30).

(18) *Account of the Emirate of Kurankij.*

On Thursday 3 Shawwal (July 1) Kurankij had an audience of Muttaqi, who invested him with the office of Prince of Princes, tied a banner for him, and bestowed on him a robe of honour. His secretary was a man from Ispahan called ABU'L-FARAJ IBN 'ABDAL-RAHMAN. Muttaqi summoned 'Ali b. 'Isa and his brother 'Abd al-Rahman, and the latter of these proceeded to administer the empire without taking the title Vizier. On Satur-

day 5 Shawwal (July 3) Kurankij (whose *kunyah* was Abu Shuja') arrested Takinak, and caused him to be drowned at night.

On Friday the populace assembled in the Palace Mosque and complained loudly of the Dailemites who billeted themselves upon them without payment and defrauded them in various transactions. There being no redress, the populace prevented the minister from offering prayer, and broke the pulpit. The army mutinied, but the Dailemites repressed them, and there were many victims on both sides.

ABU ISHAQ MOHAMMED B. AHMAD ISKAFI, known as QARARITI, was now appointed vizier to Muttaqi. The period for which 'Ali b. 'Isa and his brother 'Abd al-Rahman had managed affairs was nine days.

Account of the reason for Qarariti's appointment.

ABU AHMAD AL-FADL B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN of Shiraz narrates: I was in the presence of Kurankij with his secretary Abu'l-Faraj, and there were in the room 'Ali b. 'Isa, his brother 'Abd al-Rahman, and Qarariti. Kurankij demanded money of 'Ali b. 'Isa, explaining that he required it to pay the troops; the latter and his brother were at a loss, stating that the provincial sources of revenue were all dried up, and that there was no way of providing it. Qarariti said to me privately while we were in the room: If the matter be put in my hands, I will manage it, and raise not only sufficient to pay the troops, but a large surplus besides.—I interviewed Abu'l-Faraj the secretary of Kurankij (19) and told him what Qarariti had said; Abu'l-Faraj desired Qarariti to visit him privately so that he might hear what he had to say. The following day I brought Qarariti to him, when he repeated what he had said to me, and explained the sources whence a considerable revenue could be raised. Abu'l-Faraj then went to his

master Kurankij, and informed him that whereas 'Ali b. 'Isa and his brother were helpless, Qarariti had come and stated his readiness to manage affairs and to satisfy the demands of the troops so that nothing of necessity need be neglected. Kurankij was relieved at this, and ordered his secretary to bring Qarariti at night ; this was done ; there was a private meeting between Kurankij, Qarariti and Abu'l-Faraj, when Qarariti convinced Kurankij that he would be able to provide all that was required. Finally the office was conferred on Qarariti and Muttaqi was informed.

ISPAHAN the Dailemite was sent by the Emir Abu Shuja' Kurankij to Wasit to fight Baridi. Abu Yusuf Baridi had come upstream from Basrah to Wasit ; but when the Baridis heard of the expedition of Ispahan the Dailemite, they descended to Basrah. IBN SANJALA¹ and his brother-in-law 'Ali b. Ya'qub² emerged from their concealment, and presented themselves at the residence of the vizier Qarariti to pay their respects ; he had them arrested in his house before they had come into his presence, and had them conveyed to the Palace. He also wrote a letter about them to Muttaqi, who ordered them to be imprisoned ; they were cruelly tortured with blows and hanging, and fined 150,000 dinars.

In this year MOHAMMED B. RA'IQ, having heard of the death of Bachkam, advanced from Syria to Baghdad.

Narrative of Ibn Ra'iq's expedition from Syria, of his entering Baghdad and of his fate.

After the death of Bachkam and the arrival of Baridi, the Turks in the employ of Bachkam, such as Tuzun, Khajkhaj, Nushtakin, Saighun and other chiefs, left Baghdad and went to Mausil, where however their services were declined by Abu Mohammed Hasan b.

¹ He had gone into hiding at Radi's death, i. 417.

² See i. 385.

'Abdallah b. *Hamdan*. They sent to him to demand their travelling expenses; and he allowed them the quarter of a term's pay. They then directed themselves to Ibn Ra'iq in Syria. By the arrival of these Turks (20) he made sure of Bachkam's death, and he further received a letter from Muttaqi informing him of the same, couched in courteous language and inviting him to the capital. So he started from Damascus, and when he approached Mausil Kurankij wrote to the Dailemite Ispahan bidding him come up from Wasit; he did so and entered Baghdad, whence LU'LU' departed to take up the government of Wasit; he was unable to do this, and returned before he had reached the place. When Ibn Ra'iq reached Mausil, the *Hamdanid Hasan* refused to receive him, and a correspondence ensued, wherein it was agreed that *Hasan* should transmit to Ibn Ra'iq 100,000 dinars, on the receipt of which Ibn Ra'iq descended the river to Baghdad, whereas *Hasan* returned to Mausil.

On Sunday —5 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Aug. 22, 941) Kurankij arrested Qarariti, whose vizierate had lasted 43 days, and appointed to the office ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM KARKHI,¹ to whom Muttaqi gave an audience the same day and presented a robe of honour.

News came that after the departure of the Dailemite Ispahan from Wasit, the place had been entered by the Baridis, who had ordered Ibn Ra'iq's name to be mentioned in the *khutbah* in Wasit and Basrah, and had had his name inscribed on their standards.

In this year Ibn Ra'iq entered Baghdad, and Kurankij was routed and went into hiding.

Account of the defeat of Kurankij and his going into hiding in consequence of an accident and a battle.

When Ibn Ra'iq approached Baghdad, Kurankij issued from it, and got to 'Ukbara; having appointed

¹ He had been vizier in 324.

Lu'lu' prefect of police in Baghdad with a robe of honour. Ibn Ra'iq came up with Kurankij, and an engagement commenced which lasted for several days continuously, but was not in Ibn Ra'iq's favour. On Tuesday —11 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Aug. 23, 941) Ibn Muqatil entered Baghdad with a detachment of Ibn Ra'iq's army; and on the following Thursday Ibn Ra'iq entered the city with his whole army from the Western side and took up his quarters in Najmi. The following morning he crossed over to the Palace, and had an audience of Muttaqi, to whom he paid his respects. He requested the Caliph to embark with him and they sailed (21) the Tigris to Raqqah of the Shammasiyyah quarter, after which they returned to the Palace whither Muttaqi mounted, while Ibn Ra'iq crossed to Najmi. On the afternoon of the same day Kurankij arrived at the head of his army from 'Ukbara by land in Baghdad, and both he and his companions were extremely contemptuous of Ibn Ra'iq and his forces, satirically asking where the caravan that had come from Syria was resting. When Kurankij arrived at the Palace he was excluded, Lu'lu' and Badr Kharshani being there; so he departed and took up his quarters on the island which is in front of the Stable where camels are tied, and the Furniture Store, called in our time the Elephant's House.

Abu Bakr Ibn Ra'iq afterwards stated in conversation that when Kurankij entered Baghdad he had made up his mind to retreat and go back to Syria, and had even laden his packs and started, when (he said) I said to myself: What, retire and abandon this prize? I could not acquiesce in such a course, and told my chamberlain FATIK to order a halt, which he did. The troops however declined to halt, till he ran up to one of the baggage mules and hamstrung it; then they halted. About a hundred of my followers crossed on horseback to the Eastern bank, with MOHAMMED B,

JA'FAR the Registrar ; I myself crossed in a *sumairiyah* with the Turkish eunuch Subashi and some twenty *sumairiyyahs* containing retainers. It so happened that my arrival coincided with that of my followers who were on horseback ; so when the Dailemites began to shoot their arrows at us, they heard behind them the cries of my followers and of the populace. They fell into disorder, and their hearts began to palpitate, as they imagined that my army had attacked them from behind and had control of the rear. So they took to flight, being stoned by the populace, who flung material from the quays at them. Kurankij himself fled and went into hiding, and it was said that his followers did not know what route he had taken. Thus our cause was established.

Account of the slaughter of the Dailemites and the Emirate of Ibn Ra'iq.

(22) When Kurankij went into hiding and his army was dispersed, and his cause ruined, AHMAD B. 'ALI KUFU showed himself to Ibn Ra'iq and re-entered his service. Ibn Ra'iq ordered the relics of the Dailemite force that had deserted to throw down their arms, and sent his signet to a party of them who had entrenched themselves in a fortress near the Nahrawan Bridge, in consequence of which they returned and entered the house called The Elephants' House. They were about 400 in number and had not ventured to separate. On Monday —5 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Sep. 22, 941) Ibn Ra'iq despatched his black infantry to the Elephant's House and put all the Dailemites there assembled to the sword ; they were cut to pieces, not one of them escaping save a man named Khudakard, who fell among the slain and was carried with a number of corpses in sacks to the Tigris, whence a wave flung him up and he lived long afterwards. Ibn Ra'iq had taken prisoner more than ten Dailemite captains ; these he sent to the house of his chamberlain Fatik with orders that they should be

decapitated; and they were decapitated without resistance in his house. Some of the defeated Dailemites had followed the Khorasan Road, and when they had passed the Nahrawan Bridge had gone for the night into a *khan*. In the night the *khan* fell upon them and most of them were killed.

On Tuesday —4 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Sep. 23, 941) Muttaqi bestowed a robe of honour on Ibn Ra'iq, with a bracelet and a collar studded with gems; he also tied a banner for him, and invested him with the office of Prince of Princes. Abu Ja'far Karkhi was ordered to stay in his house, his vizierate on this occasion having lasted 53 days. The administration was conducted by Abu 'Abdallah Ahmad b. 'Ali Kufi, secretary to Ibn Ra'iq, without his taking the title vizier. Qarariti was released and allowed to go home. Kurankij was discovered, caught and taken to the Palace.

YEAR 330.

Ibn Ra'iq was displeased with the Baridis, as they transmitted no revenue (23) from Wasit or Basrah. So on 13 Muharram (Oct. 6, 941) he went down stream and the Baridis fled to Basrah. Kufi mediated and ultimately Baridi agreed to farm the outstanding revenue of Wasit for 170,000 dinars, and future years for 600,000 dinars a year. Ibn Ra'iq then went back to Baghdad.

In this year 'ABBAS B. SHAQIQ came to Baghdad bringing the head of Makan b. Kaki the Dailemite with presents from the ruler of Khorasan to Muttaqi, consisting in Turkish slaves, perfume, and *shahabi*.¹ Makan's head was exhibited on a *shadha'ah*, with a helmet and an arrow which had pierced helmet and head and come out at the other side of the helmet.

¹ Perhaps the true reading is *shahjani*, meaning a valuable fabric manufactured in Nisabur,

In this year the Turks mutinied against Ibn Ra'iq, and went out to the Oratory, headed by Tuzun and Nushtakin. After charging him with various crimes they departed on the morning of Sunday 5 Rabi' i (Nov. 28, 941) to join Baridi in Wasit. Their accession was a source of strength to Baridi, whom Ibn Ra'iq was compelled to placate.

Account of the vizierate of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi.

He accordingly wrote to Baridi appointing him vizier in the middle of Rabi' i (about Dec. 9, 941), and despatched AL-TAYYIB B. SAUSAN to him with the robes of honour. He appointed as his deputy in the capital Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad, whom he presented to Muttaqi; the whole administration however remained in the hands of Kufi. News then came of Baridi's resolve to come to Baghdad. Hereupon Ibn Ra'iq deprived him of the title vizier, substituting for him Qarariti; Ibn Shirzad was bidden remain at home and went into hiding. Muttaqi now mounted a horse accompanied by his son Abu Mansur, Ibn Ra'iq, the vizier Qarariti, and the army, with Qur'ans spread out before them and Readers, to summon the people to take arms against the Baridis; the party then sailed down the Tigris from the Shamsiyyah Gate to Baridi's house. (24) Numerous bandits with drawn knives assembled in all the quarters of Eastern Baghdad. On Friday the Baridis were cursed from the pulpits of the public Mosques of the capital.

Account of Abu'l-Husain Baridi's expedition to Baghdad.

Abu'l-Husain Baridi advanced from Wasit upstream to Baghdad, at the head of an army in which were the retainers of his brother Abu 'Abdallah, Turks and Dailemites. When he got near Baghdad all his Qarmatian troops deserted to Ibn Ra'iq. Ibn Ra'iq prepared to fight, and decided to entrench himself in the Palace,

in which he blocked up most of the doors and repaired the breaches in the wall ; on the wall he set up various engines for launching projectiles, as well as in the court of the Palace that abutted on the Tigris. Round the Palace he scattered iron caltrops. He appealed to the populace to take arms and enlisted some of them, a measure which resulted in the springing up of factions and continual fights. The Western bank became seditious, and burned the *Tabiq* Canal district near the Melon House¹ ; the houses of wealthy residents were constantly broken into by day and by night. The people fought without intermission day and night, and killed each other openly. The prison was broken open, and the civil war went on. The Sultan's camp was brought out to the Diyala Canal, while Ibn Ra'iq with his officers went out to the Racing ground.

On Monday the middle of Jumada ii (March 7, 942) the followers of Abu'l-Husain Baridi crossed the Diyala. Lu'lu' was stationed on the Najmi bank, and Badr Kharshani at the Oratory. The battle between Baridi and Ibn Ra'iq lasted till noon, whereas the fight on the water continued from that day till Saturday —9 Jumada ii (March 12, 942). It was fiercely contested both on land and water. The Dailemites severely handled the recruits from the populace ; and some of Baridi's Dailemite followers entered (25) the Palace from the water side and got possession of it. Muttaqi and his son took to flight with some twenty horse. They made for the Shammasiyyah Gate, where they were joined by Ibn Ra'iq with his army and Lu'lu'. They all departed for Mausil. The vizier Qarariti went into hiding, having held office for 41 days. The Dailemites slew all whom they found in the Palace, which they pillaged outrageously, entering the women's apartments. Abu'l-Husain Baridi remained for some days in a *hudaidiyyah* outside the

¹ See Le Strange, p. 84.

Private Gate. In the Palace there were found Ibn Sanjala and 'Ali b. Ya'qub, who were released. Kuran-kij was put in fetters by Abu'l-Husain Baridi, who sent him downstream to his brother Abu 'Abdallah, and no more was heard of him. The ex-Caliph Qahir also was found in his cell in the Palace, and was kept there.

After some days Abu'l-Husain Baridi went up stream and took up his quarters in the Palace of Mu'nis, where Ibn Ra'iq had resided. He appointed ABU'L-WAFA TUZUN prefect of police on the Eastern side of the city and NUSHTAKIN to the same office on the Western side. The Dailemites had started pillaging and plundering, invading people's houses, turning out the inhabitants and occupying them themselves. The people had to endure this till these persons were appointed to the prefecture of police, when the disorder somewhat abated; Abu'l-Husain Baridi seized the women-folk of Tuzun and his two sons and the families of most of his officers and of the Turks and sent them to his brother to be retained as hostages.

Prices rose high in Baghdad, and Baridi practised the iniquity usual with his family, commencing collection of the *kharaj* in March. He thereby ruined the farmers who took to flight; and he started collecting the poll-tax, thereby ruining the members of the tolerated communities. He set the weak against the strong. On every *kurr* of wheat he imposed a duty of 70 dirhems, and duties on (26) all goods sold by measure, and upon oil. He seized some 500 *kurr* belonging to certain dealers which had arrived from Kufah, which he asserted were the property of Hasan b. Harun, former governor of the region.

Khajkhaj deserted to Muttaqi, who had been taken to Buzurg-Sabur and the two Radhan; Tuzun, Nushtakin and the Turks had conspired to assault Abu'l-Husain Baridi, but Nushtakin betrayed Tuzun, and gave

Baridi information of the plot ; so Baridi took precautions, summoning the Dailemites to his residence, and demanding their help. So when Tuzun attacked the residence of Baridi, the Dailemites who were inside resisted, and locked the doors against him. Tuzun discovered the treachery of Nushtakin, and cursed him. On the morning of Tuesday¹ Tuzun took his departure for Mausil accompanied by a large detachment of Turks. The populace however rioted and made war on Baridi.

When Tuzun, Khajkhaj and the Turks reached Mausil, *Hasan Ibn Hamdan*, having received this accession of strength, determined to descend the Tigris with *Muttaqi* to Baghdad. Hearing of this *Abu'l-Husain Baridi* wrote to his brother for reinforcements ; and the latter sent to his assistance a number of officers with Dailemite troops. *Abu'l-Husain* now encamped at the *Shammasiyyah Gate*, and gave out that it was his intention to give battle to *Ibn Hamdan* if the latter advanced. (All this was after the assassination of *Ibn Ra'iq* by *Ibn Hamdan*, which shall be recounted immediately after this narrative). But when *Muttaqi* with *Ibn Hamdan* approached Baghdad, *Abu'l-Husain Baridi* fled down stream with his whole army, taking with him the persons whom he had imprisoned with the view of exacting money from them, such as *Ibn Qarabah*, *Abu 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab*, *'Ali b. 'Uthman b. al-Naffat*, etc. The disorder in Baghdad increased, the houses were pillaged, and people went armed in the streets both day and night. The period during which *Abu'l-Husain Baridi* had been supreme in Baghdad was three months and twenty days.

When *Muttaqi* with his two sons, *Ibn Ra'iq* and their followers reached *Takrit*, (27) they found there (being still on their way to Mausil) *ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. 'ABDALLAH B. HAMDAN*.² The reason of this was that

¹ The date appears to have dropped out.

² Better known as *Saif al-daulah*.

when Abul'-Husain Baridi approached Baghdad, Ibn Ra'iq wrote to *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* (governor of Mausil) requesting reinforcements to help him in resisting Baridi. *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* sent his brother 'Ali, who however only joined them in Takrit, when after being routed they had taken the road to Mausil. 'Ali Ibn *Hamdan* when they met supplied *Muttaqi*, his son, Ibn Ra'iq and the officers with all the provisions, clothes, furniture and money that they needed, stinting them in nothing, and the whole party proceeded to Mausil. When they reached the city, *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* evacuated it, crossed to the Eastern bank, and made his way to the district of Mu'lathaya.¹ A series of messages then passed between him and Ibn Ra'iq, which resulted in their binding each other by oaths and solemn obligations to the satisfaction of *Hasan Ibn Hamdan*, who came back and took up his quarters on the Eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Mausil.

Account of the assassination of Ibn Ra'iq.

On Monday —9 Rajab (April 11, 942) the prince Abu Mansur son of *Muttaqi* crossed the river accompanied by Ibn Ra'iq to pay him their respects. He gave them a most courteous reception, and showered dinars and dirhems on the prince. When they wished to leave, the prince Abu Mansur mounted his horse, and then Ibn Ra'iq's horse was brought for him to mount. But *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* seized hold of Ibn Ra'iq's sleeve, saying: You must stay with me to-day, as there are matters which we must discuss. Ibn Ra'iq replied that it was not possible for him to do so that day, as he wanted to return with the prince; but he might do it another day. *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* however insisted with an urgency which alarmed Ibn Ra'iq, who pulled his sleeve from *Hasan's* hand with such violence that it tore. He had one foot in the stirrup at the time; his horse shied and

¹ According to Yaqut near the Jazirat Ibn 'Umar, a considerable distance to the North.

he fell. He was about to rise and mount, when *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* shouted to his retainers to assault him: *Plague on you, he said, do not let him escape you ! (28)* So they fell upon him with their swords and put him to death. *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* sent a message to *Muttaqi* to the effect that it had come to his knowledge that *Ibn Ra'iq* was meditating a treacherous assault on him (*Muttaqi*), and the step which he had taken was the result. *Muttaqi* replied that *Hasan Ibn Hamdan's* evidence was unimpeachable, and requested him to visit him. *Hasan Ibn Hamdan* in consequence crossed the river and had an audience.

*The Emirate of Abu Mohammed Hasan b. 'Abdallah
b. Hamdan.*

Muttaqi now bestowed on him a robe of honour, tied a banner for him, gave him the title *NASIR AL-DAULAH* (Helper of the Empire), appointed him Prince of Princes, and called him by his *kunyah*. This took place on the first day of *Sha'ban* (April 21, 942). *Muttaqi* bestowed a robe of honour on *Hasan Ibn Hamdan's* brother, 'Ali, and on his cousin *Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. Sa'id b. Hamdan*. He wrote to *Qarariti* appointing him vizier ; this was in *Shawwal* (began June 19, 942). *Qarariti* sat in his residence, appointed and dismissed officials, issued commands and prohibitions, and maintained order until *Muttaqi* arrived with *Nasir al-daulah*.

Account of the war between Baridi and Ibn Hamdan.

Muttaqi entered *Baghdad* accompanied by *Nasir al-daulah* and his brother 'Ali with the whole army. The people erected triumphal arches for them, and *Nasir al-daulah* with his brother took up their quarters in the *Garden of Shafi'*. *Qarariti* had audiences of *Muttaqi* and *Nasir al-daulah*, and *Abu'l-Wafa Tuzun* was appointed to the prefecture of (29) police on both sides of the river. *Muttaqi* bestowed on the vizier *Abu Ishaq*

Qarariti his official robes on Monday 2 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (July 19, 942); on the Thursday robes were bestowed on Nasir al-daulah and his brother who each received two collars and four bracelets of gold. Husain b. Sa'id also received a robe, one gold collar and two bracelets.

News came that Abu'l-Husain Baridi was advancing from Wasit with the intention of attacking Baghdad, and the populace of Baghdad were greatly disturbed. Muttaqi crossed over to Zubaidiyyah in order to be with Nasir al-daulah, and sent his womenfolk to Samarra. Many of the leading citizens took to flight. The army of Nasir al-daulah crossed from the Eastern to the Western bank, and the command was taken by 'Ali b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan. Abu'l-Husain Baridi when he started from Wasit was accompanied by Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad, Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah, the Dailemites and a vast army. The engagement between 'Ali Ibn Hamdan and Baridi took place on Tuesday the last day of Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Aug. 16, 942) and the following Wednesday, Thursday and Friday 1, 2, and 3 Dhu'l-Hijjah¹ (Aug. 17, 18, and 19) in the village called Gil two parasangs below Mada'in. With Ibn Hamdan were Tuzun, Khajkhaj, and the Turks. The battle went at first against 'Ali Ibn Hamdan, whose followers were routed, but rallied by Nasir al-daulah who was in Mada'in. Afterwards it went against Abu'l-Husain Baridi, who was routed; among his followers YANIS, retainer of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, ABU'L-FATH IBN ABI TAHIR, his Introducer,² and FARAJ, his army-secretary, were captured; Mohammed b. Yanal the Interpreter, and Ibrahim b. Ahmad of Khorasan deserted to Ibn Hamdan, who also got into his service all the Dailemites who were in Baridi's army. A number of (30) Baridi's captains were killed, and

¹ The author says 1, 3 and 4, if he be using the ordinary terminology. The above synchronisms suit both weekdays and monthdays.

² If this official's duties were the same as at later courts, it was his business to present visitors.

Baridi himself returned to Wasit utterly routed. 'Ali Ibn Hamdan and his followers however had no strength left for pursuit, owing to the terrible experiences which they had endured and the number of their wounded.

On 7 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Aug. 23, 942) Muttaqi returned from Zubaidiyyah to his Palace in three and a half hours ; his womenfolk also returned from Samarra with those who had fled thither from Baghdad. On Friday —13 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Sep. 2, 942) Nasir al-daulah entered Baghdad, preceded by Ya'nis, Baridi's retainer, Abu'l-Fath Ibn Tahir and Baridi's Introducer, exposed on camels, with *burnouses* on their heads. An announcement of the victory was circulated throughout the world, and Muttaqi bestowed the title SAIF AL-DAULAH upon Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan when he had won it. He also sent him robes of honour and issued a despatch concerning this. Saif al-daulah proceeded down stream to Wasit, whence he found that the Baridis had descended to Basrah. He took up his quarters in Wasit, having with him the Turks, the Dailemites and the rest of the army.

Account of Ibn Muqatil's stratagem against Nasir al-daulah.

Ibn Muqatil (Abu Bakr Mohammed b. 'Ali) sent to Nasir al-daulah through Abu Zakariyya Susi who obtained an amnesty for him, stipulating that if Nasir al-daulah should agree upon a fine which he could support and wherein he should acquiesce, he (Ibn Muqatil) should continue to show himself ; whereas if they arrived at no agreement he should return to his hiding. When he showed himself, their assessments differed too widely. Nasir al-daulah therefore bade him return to his hiding. Ibn Muqatil retorted that he had fixed no term for this, and would go back when he liked. Nasir al-daulah complained loudly of this, for he was compelled to keep his word, and perceived that Ibn

Muqatil had got the better of him. He was obliged to compromise with him for 130,000 dinars.¹

(31) Nasir al-daulah gave his attention to the coinage, and its quality. He gave orders that the silver and gold should be refined, and struck dinars which he called *Ibrizi* (*i.e.*, of fine gold), which were of the purest metal. He issued a rescript on this subject.²

In this year the Dailemites obtained possession of Adharbaijan.

Account of the reason for this.

When DAISAM B. IBRAHIM, whose story we have recounted,³ obtained possession of Adharbaijan, the bulk of his army consisted of Kurds; an exception was a small detachment which remained from the army of Washmagir, having elected to stay with Daisam when he restored Washmagir's army to him.⁴ The Kurds proceeded to treat Daisam with insolence, and became so audacious and high-handed that they began seizing lands within the frontiers of his province. After consideration he found no-one whose help he could invoke against them except the Dailemites; he therefore attracted to his service a number of their chieftains, among whom were SU'LUK B. MOHAMMED B. MUSAFIR, ASFAR B. SIYAKULI and many of their rank. A number also came to him from Mausil, among them a man named 'ALI B. AL-FADL SULI, who had been an officer of Bachkam, but had been banished by Bachkam for some act which had offended him. Daisam bestowed honours and wealth upon him and gave him high rank. When Daisam had gained sufficient strength by attracting the

¹ The author does not explain why Nasir al-daulah had become so conscientious.

² An authority cited in the note gives the value of these dinars as 18 dirhems: the dinar had previously fallen to 10. Examples are common.

³ i. 398-404.

⁴ This detail is supplementary to the narrative in i, 400, where Daisam promised to do this when he had finished with Lashkari.

Dailemites into his service, he recovered from the Kurds the lands which they had taken from him, seized a number of their chieftains, and added to the number of his Dailemite supporters. The duties of vizier were discharged by ABU'L-QASIM 'ALI B. JA'FAR SULI, one of the clerks of Adharbaijan. This man's enemies intrigued against him persistently, and being intimidated and alarmed by Daisam, he fled to *Tarm* to seek the protection of Mohammed b. Musafir. His arrival coincided with the period wherein his two sons WAHSUDHAN and MARZUBAN had quarrelled with him and seized his fortress called Samiran.¹ The reason for their dissatisfaction was his misgovernment and cruel treatment of his (32) family, members of which were arrested by him without their having committed any serious fault, but only out of ill-nature; Wahsudhan having taken offence, had gone to his brother who was in one of his father's fortresses in *Tarm*. Mohammed b. Musafir perceived that he would be unable to arrest Wahsudhan

¹ Yaqut's article is worth transcribing. "Samiran is a powerful fortress on a mighty river running between mountains in the district of *Tarm*. It was destroyed by the master of Alamut; I have seen the place which contains fine ruins indicating that it at one time was a fortress of the first rank. Mis'ar b. Muhalhal (ob. 330) narrates: I arrived at the fortress of the king of the Dailemites which is called Samiran, and saw there such buildings and such prosperity as I had witnessed in no other royal residence. It contains more than 2,850 houses, small and great. Now its owner Mohammed b. Musafir used whenever he saw any fine ware or piece of elaborate workmanship to make inquiries about the maker: when he had discovered his address, he would send him a sum of money sufficient to attract him, and promise him many times the amount if he would come to Samiran. Once arrived there he would be prevented from leaving the fortress for the rest of his life. Mohammed b. Musafir would also take the children of his subjects and apprentice them to different crafts. His revenue was great and his outgoings small; so he piled up great treasures. Finally his children plotted against him out of pity for the people who were in the condition of captives. One day when he returned from the chase he found the gates locked against him; his sons fortified themselves within, and he took refuge in another fortress in another part of his dominions. The sons released the artisans who were there, some 5,000 in number, and received their blessings. The middle son was unwilling that his father should ascribe his conduct to ingratitude and the desire for his treasures, so he collected a great army of Dailemites and betook himself to Adharbaijan, where there happened to him what did happen.

until he had produced dissension between him and his brother ; so he wrote to summon Marzuban. Wahsudhan told Marzuban that he would not stay in the fortress after Marzuban had left ; and warned him that if he parted from him (Wahsudhan), their father would get him into his power and put him under arrest. Marzuban then bade Wahsudhan accompany him. On their way they seized a messenger whom their father had secretly despatched to those who remained in the fortress, bidding them arrest Wahsudhan so soon as Marzuban had departed, and take good care of him and of the fortress. This surprised them ; and being both enraged against their father, they reached the fortress Samiran at a time when their father had left it for another fortress. They proceeded to inform their mother KHARASUYAH of what their father had written about them, and she, being a woman of intelligence, enabled them to take possession of the fortress with the stores and treasures of Mohammed b. Musafir which it contained. When Mohammed b. Musafir learned of this, he was gravely embarrassed, and entered the fortress which he was visiting alone, being separated from his resources.

When 'ALI B. JA'FAR, Daisam's secretary found himself in the condition that has been described, he sought refuge with Marzuban, and suggested to him the conquest of Adharbaijan, promising to secure it for him, and to put him in possession of vast sums, being the revenue of the region, which he knew how to raise. He found a ready listener in Marzuban, whose heart he won, so that he made him his vizier. Besides, the two were bound by a religious tie, since 'Ali b. Ja'far was a missionary of the *Batini* sect,¹ wherein Marzuban had been initiated. Marzuban permitted his vizier to preach the doctrines of the sect openly, and the latter had now got all he required.

¹ A branch of the Shi'ah, whence the Assassins presently emanated.

'Ali b. Ja'far now commenced a correspondence with the army of Daisam, knowing what persons therein had a grudge against Daisam, were dissatisfied with him personally or disapproved of his religious tenets, which were those of the *Shurat*.¹ The same had been held by his father, who had been an associate of HARUN the Shari,² and after his death (33) had fled to Adharbaijan. There he married the daughter of a Kurdish chieftain, and Daisam was born to them. Daisam was favoured by Ibn Abi'l-Saj, and shared his rising fortunes.

'Ali b. Ja'far ceaselessly weakened his supports and tampered with the allegiance of his adherents and Dailemite staff till he had won over most of Daisam's followers, who wrote to him that if Marzuban came to them, they would desert Daisam in a body. When Marzuban was satisfied thereby with regard to the disposition of Daisam's followers, he advanced into Adharbaijan. Daisam went to meet him; but when he arrayed his forces for battle with Marzuban, they turned their shields in his face and joined Marzuban. These deserters were about 2000 in number, and they were joined by many of the Kurds. Then when Marzuban charged, the rest of Daisam's forces left him and took to flight. He himself escaped with a small party into Armenia, where he implored the protection of GAGIK son of the DERANI³ owing to the friendship that existed between them; Gagik received him hospitably and saw that he had what his rank required. Daisam returned to his policy of conciliating the Kurds, perceiving that he had committed an error in taking too many Dailemites into his service. One of his most faithful advisers had

¹ A name often used of the Kharijis. The singular is Shari.

² An adventurer first mentioned in 272 as associated with Hamdan, and leading prayer at Mausil. In 283 he was captured by Husain b. Hamdan, who was now in the service of the Caliph. Tabari calls him al-Waziqi.

³ See i. 402 note. He must mean the son of Gagik, who died 936 (324).

warned him to attach to himself no more than 500 Dailemites, but he had declined to listen.

Thus Marzuban became ruler of Adharbaijan and his affairs prospered under the direction of his secretary 'Ali b. Ja'far until mischief was made between them.

Account of the reason for this.

He had a clerk named ABU SA'ID 'ISA B. MUSA, known as 'ISKAWAIHI, who intrigued against him, and excited the cupidity of Marzuban by accounts of his wealth. Now 'Ali b. Ja'far had given offence to a number of Marzuban's courtiers, who conspired against him and thwarted his policy. 'Ali b. Ja'far, becoming aware of this, contrived the following scheme against Marzuban. He aroused the cupidity of Marzuban by offering to procure him vast sums from Tabriz, a noble city with a strong wall, surrounded by forests and fruit-bearing trees; not only is it well fortified, but its inhabitants are brave, warlike and wealthy. Marzuban attached to 'Ali b. Ja'far JUSTAN B. (34) SHARMZAN, MOHAMMED B. IBRAHIM, DILLIR B. AWARSPANAH, and the chamberlain HASAN B. MOHAMMED MUHALLABI,¹ with other persons who possessed his confidence. 'Ali b. Ja'far proceeded to Tabriz, and when he had established himself there, conciliated the people of the place, and wrote to Daisam to make amends for the past, and invite him to come to Tabriz, promising to massacre the Dailemites, and assist him to return to his throne. Daisam replied that before he could trust 'Ali b. Ja'far the latter must crush the Dailemites. 'Ali b. Ja'far plotted with the people of the place to crush them, informing them that he had only come because Marzuban hankered after their goods, that the Dailemites would never help him to improve their condition, and that nothing would satisfy them but their extermination. The people of the place agreed to

¹ This remarkable man has been seen in the service of Abu Zakariyya of Sus, i. 382. We are not told how he got into the service of Marzuban.

make an onslaught on the Dailemites on a particular day which he appointed ; when it came he arrested the commanders who have been mentioned, after summoning them to his residence, massacred the Dailemites, and went off to Daisam with the force which he had mustered.

Now Marzuban had ill-treated the Kurds who had deserted to him ; and as this took place at the time when Daisam appeared in Tabriz, the Kurds joined him in a body. Marzuban, hearing of what had happened to the Dailemites there, regretted his having offended 'Ali b. Ja'far and having listened to the statements of his enemies about him. He appointed as his vizier ABU JA'FAR AHMAD B. 'ABDALLAH B. MAHMUD, and gave him a robe of honour with the title AL-MUKHTAR (the Chosen). He then after making preparations marched to Tabriz, whither Daisam had arrived before him. There were a series of engagements, wherein the Dailemites held their ground, whereas the Kurds were routed. So Daisam returned and entrenched himself in Tabriz, whose inhabitants defended him, as was natural after their treatment of the Dailemites. The city was then besieged by Marzuban. He commenced by endeavouring to win to his side 'Ali b. Ja'far, to whom he sent offering the most solemn guarantees, and appealing to their community of religious belief, if only 'Ali b. Ja'far would re-enter his service. 'Ali b. Ja'far replied that of all that Marzuban offered the only thing for which he cared was his personal security. He had only deserted Daisam originally in order to escape ill-treatment, and he had afterwards deserted Marzuban and returned to Daisam with the view of escaping the like. What he desired was that Marzuban should excuse him from service and grant him security of life and property, so that he might abide in his own house and be free (35) to leave it and return to it. Marzuban granted this request ; guarantees were given by trustworthy persons of the same sect who served as negotiators, and 'Ali b. Ja'far acquiesced.

The siege was now pressed, and Daisam dug a hole in the wall of the city at night, and went off with his followers to Ardabil. Marzuban did not venture to pursue him immediately, fearing that he might turn against him with his bandits, while the people of Tabriz effected a sortie behind. So he waited; 'Ali b. Ja'far came out to him, and Marzuban performed his promise. The people of Tabriz continued to resist.

Account of the fortunes of Daisam after his arrival in Ardabil.

When Marzuban learned of Daisam's arrival in Ardabil, he left part of his army at Tabriz, and departed with the bulk of it to attack Daisam, whilst summoning his brother Wahsudhan to come to his aid with a number of his followers. He then proceeded vigorously to besiege Daisam. After parting with 'Ali b. Ja'far Daisam had appointed as his vizier ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. AHMAD NU'AIMI. Marzuban entered into negotiations with this person, flattered him, and promised to make him his vizier. Nu'aimi accepted his proposals, and preferring him to Daisam conspired with him against the latter.

Account of the scheme whereby Nu'aimi induced Daisam to quit the besieged city and come out to Marzuban.

Nu'aimi began to advise Daisam to send the leading men of Ardabil on a deputation to Marzuban to request terms of peace; and further to obtain from him solemn guarantees that he should be safe if he submitted to Marzuban. Nu'aimi kept warning Daisam of the dangers of a protracted siege, of the disaffection of the people of the place, and the probability that they would make an arrangement with Marzuban to surrender Daisam and open the gates to the former. Nu'aimi indeed assured Daisam that he had ascertained the existence of such a plot, which would reveal itself if Daisam did not hurriedly make peace. Daisam reflected, and found the

situation such as to justify Nu'aimi's pessimism ; the siege was being severely pressed ; no fresh supplies could reach him, his army or the civil population. There was general distress and murmuring ; the people were disaffected (36), despaired of any improvement, and were afraid that things would get worse. Accordingly Daisam sent a deputation of leading citizens, men of importance and of note, to obtain from Marzuban satisfactory assurances and guarantees on the faith of which he (Daisam) would come out to Marzuban. The deputation did as they were bidden and obtained the most solemn guarantees for Daisam. Nu'aimi then sent a message to Marzuban advising him to retain these notables, and prevent their returning to the city till Daisam had come out to him ; for, he said, conditions might change ; something might arise which would cause Daisam to change his mind ; further if Marzuban were to retain the leaders and notables of the city, the citizens would bring pressure to bear on Daisam to depart, and grant him no respite, urging that he (Daisam) was quite safe in virtue of the oath which he had demanded, that he had acquiesced in the terms offered him, and there was now no reason why he should defer his departure. Nu'aimi undertook himself to support the citizens' demands emphatically, and to insist on Daisam's immediate departure. Marzuban carried out these instructions, and the citizens clamoured against Daisam when their notables were in Marzuban's hands. So Daisam went out to Marzuban, who, when his arrival was announced went to meet him, and treated him with high honour, carrying out the agreement to the full. He bestowed his vizierate on Nu'aimi, arrested his former vizier 'Ali b. Mahmud, and put him in the power of Nu'aimi who fined him, all his associates and the leading citizens of Aradabil, thus raising vast sums. Marzuban's cause was now established, and his name was mentioned in prayer from all the pulpits of Adharbaijan.

Now let the reader consider whether these sovereigns laid themselves open to attack otherwise than through want of caution, letting themselves be drawn away by the pursuit of pleasure from attending to their affairs, neglecting their secret service, failing to investigate the dispositions of their viziers and officers, and the condition of their troops, relying on fickle fortune and coincidence, and failing to study the history of earlier sovereigns, and the methods pursued by those who maintained themselves successfully, who secured their realms and the loyalty of their followers in various ways, first of all by piety, which preserved their order, and dominated their thoughts, and next by trustworthy secret-service men and spies set to pry into their ministers (37) and study them day by day and under a variety of circumstances; further by being careful not to irritate those ministers, so far as possible, mollifying those whom it was desirable to mollify, and striking hard at irreconcilables and the incurably malignant. Wise sovereigns have disbursed huge sums on secret service men, thinking them by no means huge in comparison with the profit which they obtained from those agents' services.

As for the conclusion of Daisam's story: he afterwards felt that his life was insecure, and begged Marzuban to let him go to his fortress in *Tarm*, to live there with his family and receive the revenues of his estates, which came to 30,000 dinars a year, a smaller sum than that which Marzuban had undertaken to pay him. Marzuban agreed; so Daisam retired to his fortress in secure possession of his life, his family and his fortune.

YEAR 331.

In this year the prince *Ahmad b. Buwaihi* advanced to *Abu Ja'far's Camp* opposite *Basrah*, pretending that the Sultan had written to him requesting him to resist

Baridi. He remained for a time waging war against the Baridis, but as a number of his officers, *e.g.*, RUSTABASH, deserted to Baridi, he thought it unsafe to remain. He therefore returned to Ahwaz after a number of Baridi's troops had deserted to him.

In the same year Nasir al-daulah gave his daughter in marriage to the prince Abu Mansur son of Muttaqi. The wedding was performed and the address delivered in Muttaqi's presence; Nasir al-daulah did not himself attend, but let the knot be tied by ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. ABI MUSA HASHIMI, while the preacher was the qadi Khiraqi, who made mistakes in certain places, and identified the *sadaq* (the bridegroom's stipulated gift to the bride) with the *nihlah* (his free gift to her), calling them both *sadaq*. The former was in this case half a million dirhems, the latter 100,000 dinars. As Khiraqi was unable to tie the knot properly, this was done by Mohammed b. Abi Musa.

In Rajab of this year (began March 11, 943) when the vizier according to custom crossed over to visit Nasir (38) al-daulah, he with numerous companions was placed under arrest by that prince. His tenure of office had been eight months and sixteen days. The title vizier was given to ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. 'ABDALLAH ISPAHANI, the robes of that office being bestowed on him in the Palace on —12 Rajab (March 29, 943). Clad in these he proceeded to the residence of the Emir Nasir al-daulah. On ceremonial days he wore the *qaba*, sword and belt; the administration was conducted by Abu 'Abdallah Kufi.

Nasir al-daulah was in the habit of himself trying the criminal offences of civilians and such other cases as were ordinarily tried by the Prefect of police; and the penalties which criminals earned, such as scourging, and amputation of hands and feet, were executed in his presence. The hands and feet when amputated used to be

exhibited to him and strictly counted in his presence lest the police-officers should take bribes from the criminals and release any of them without his knowledge.

Account of Saif al-daulah's fortunes with the Turks in Wasit and those of Nasir al-daulah in Baghdad which were connected therewith.

Saif al-daulah stayed in Wasit, planning to advance to the conquest of Basrah with his army and with the Turks; only his brother Nasir al-daulah delayed the transmission of money to him, and he was especially importuned by the Turks; Tuzun and Khajkhaj treated him with great rudeness in Wasit, till he grew weary of their insolence. Now Nasir al-daulah had sent Abu 'Abdallah Kufi to his brother Saif al-daulah bringing two million dirhems and 50,000 dinars to be spent upon the Turks. Tuzun and Khajkhaj assaulted and reviled him in Saif al-daulah's presence; Saif al-daulah personally protected him, and got him into safety in a house; he then asked the officers whether they were not ashamed to treat him with such disrespect in the person of his clerk. Presently Saif al-daulah made an arrangement with the secretary of Khajkhaj that the latter should proceed to Madhar, and enjoy its revenues on condition of his protecting it; and a further arrangement with Tuzun's secretary ABU 'ALI MASIHI that he should take Tuzun off to Jamidah, whose revenue should be given to Tuzun on condition of his protecting the place.

This plan having been settled, Kufi returned to his seat in the presence of Saif al-daulah, being afraid to return to his own residence. Khajkhaj crossed over to the Western side of Wasit with the intention of starting, and Tuzun also made preparations for his expedition to Jamidah. At noon on —3 Shawwal (July 4, 943) ABU 'AMR MASIHI arrived flying from Nasir al-daulah to his brother Abu 'Ali Masihi (40), having in his possession an

autograph letter addressed by Nasir al-daulah to him, wherein he said : *I have long endured your plotting against me and taking liberties with me ; you are deceiving yourself. I am informed that you have plunged your hand into so-and-so's trust ; if you do not stop it and put a stop to your malpractices, I will have your hands and your feet amputated.* Abu 'Amr Masihi asserted that he had read this letter and come away. He added that some days before Nasir al-daulah had said to him : Masihi, you are very anxious to make Tuzun Emir ; you are piling the dust on your own head. If he attain to what you want for him, he will not be satisfied with you for secretary, but will want Ibn Shirzad or some one of his rank and quality. He will make him secretary and reject you and inflict a fine upon you.

Saif al-daulah mollified and conciliated Abu 'Amr Masihi, and sent to placate Tuzun. He kept trying to make the Turks dissatisfied with 'Iraq and to persuade them to come with him to Syria and gain possession of that country and of Egypt ; and he endeavoured to set them against his brother. They believed what he told them about his brother ; but they declined to go far from 'Iraq, and importuned him for their pay, which they insisted should be given them in full every sixtieth day. And they used slighting expressions about him and his brother. When Abu 'Amr Masihi arrived, they said to him : We want you to give out the pay of each commander with that of his men, one by one, and to deliver it all of one weight in the scales.—He agreed to do this, in order to stop their clamour ; and they proceeded to demand that the payment be made by night and day (*continuously*), and to this too he placidly agreed. Saif al-daulah then removed Abu 'Abdallah Kufi by night, sending with him his cousin Abu Walid with a party of Arabs ; he personally conducted him part of the way for fear any ill should befall him, and then commended him to the Arabs till they brought him to Mada'in.

On Sunday the last day of Sha'ban (May 7, 943) the Turks made a nightly attack on Saif al-daulah, who fled from his camp, followed a canal which was near it, and which brought him to a village called Barqah¹; he then kept to the desert till he reached (41) Baghdad. The Turks set fire to his camp, and plundered his baggage, including a portion of the money which Kufi had brought from his brother and which had not yet been distributed.

This was how Saif al-daulah fared in Wasit. As for the fortunes of Nasir al-daulah in Baghdad: when Kufi reached that city and being received by Nasir al-daulah described to him the situation of affairs, the latter came out to the Shammasiyyah Gate. Muttaqi sailed to him on the Tigris, requesting him to delay his departure from Baghdad. Nasir al-daulah brought his retainers over to the Eastern side,² with most of his army, in order to make the Turks suppose that he meant to cross and march on the Eastern side; but when his army had reached the Eastern side, he broke down the bridge, and himself proceeded on the Western side. His palace³ was plundered, and Ya'nis retainer of Baridi with Abu'l-Fath Ibn Abi Tahir⁴ escaped from their prison and returned to Basrah. Kufi went into hiding. The Dailemites who remained in Baghdad went to the Oratory and encamped there. The Turks who were in Baghdad policed the Palace, and the Dailemites marched away from the Oratory. The administration of affairs in the capital was undertaken by Qarariti without the title vizier. Tuzun was constituted Emir in Wasit. The Emirate of Nasir al-daulah Abu Mohammed Ibn Hamdan had lasted thirteen months and three days.

¹ Yaqut knows of places near Wasit named Barqah and Burqah; but he does not know of this canal, whose name according to an authority cited in the note to the text was Jazur.

² Apparently Nasir al-daulah's troops were still at Zubaidiyyah on the Western side.

³ *i.e.*, the palace of Mu'nis.

⁴ See above, p. 29.

Account of the proceedings of Tuzun with the Turks in Wasit after Saif al-daulah's flight, until he was constituted Emir.

When Saif al-daulah had departed from Wasit in the circumstances that have been described, and Tuzun with Khajkhaj (42) returned to their camp, a dispute arose between them for the headship. It was then arranged that Tuzun should be Emir, to whom myrtle and fragrant herbs were brought (in accordance with Persian usage at accessions), and Khajkhaj commander-in-chief (*Ispahsalar*). The officers carried out this arrangement without the consent of a number of the Turks, and arranged besides a matrimonial alliance between the two.

Baridi was anxious to regain possession of Wasit, and proceeded to ascend the river thither. Tuzun ordered Khajkhaj to descend to the Aban Canal,¹ where he was to look out for followers of Baridi who might arrive, and report to him. Khajkhaj accordingly did this. Meanwhile 'ISA B. NASR arrived having been despatched by Baridi to congratulate Tuzun on his appointment to the Emirate, request of him permission to farm the revenues of the districts of Wasit, and inform Tuzun from Baridi that his wisest course was to hasten to the capital to expel Nasir al-daulah. Tuzun gave a civil answer, but declined to assign him the contract, saying: When things are settled, we shall discuss the revenue-contract; not in my present situation, when you suppose me to be a hunted man, in terror of the *Hamdanids*. My army is nevertheless the army of Bachkam of which you have had ample experience, one detachment of which will be sufficient to deal with you. 'Isa b. Nasr departed, a spy being sent after him by Tuzun.

¹ "Below Wasit the Tigris flowed out into the Great Swamp by five navigable waterways. . . . On the main arm of the river lay Ar-Rusafah, on the left bank, ten leagues from Wasit, and near it flowing eastward into the Swamp was the canal called Nahr Ban also spelt Nahr Aban." Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 40.

Account of the reason why Tuzun arrested and blinded Khajkhaj.

This spy returned and informed Tuzun that he had met Khajkhaj and had a private interview with him which was protracted ; and that Khajkhaj was about to desert to Baridi. On 12 Ramadan (May 20, 943) Tuzun took with him a hundred Turkish retainers, a hundred Favourites, ISHKURAJ and a number of chiefs, and surprised Khajkhaj in his bed. When Khajkhaj perceived what had happened, he mounted the horse of the guard, in his shirt with a club in his hand, wherewith he defended himself for awhile, He was presently secured and brought to Wasit, where he was blinded by Tuzun. Thus the fire of Khajkhaj was allayed.

ABU'L-HUSAIN 'ALI B. MOHAMMED B. MUQLAH now intrigued for the vizierate ; he communicated with Muttaqi, having first conciliated the Interpreter, to whom he promised money. Muttaqi's reply was : I am anxious to have you, favourable to your cause and willing to appoint you. Only it is not permissible for me to suggest your name. Arrange matters with the Interpreter, telling him to nominate you with others, and I will choose you out of the number. He did this, and was presented to Muttaqi, who appointed him vizier, after which he returned to his residence.

News now came that Saif al-daulah had encamped at Mazrafah.

Account of the advance of Saif al-daulah on Baghdad after his flight and of its result.

When Saif al-daulah heard of the dispute between Tuzun and Khajkhaj at Wasit, he aspired at getting possession of Baghdad, and got to Mazrafah.¹ Such of his officers as were in concealment now showed themselves

¹ See Le Strange, p. 210. It was on the Eastern bank three parasangs North of Baghdad.

and came out to him. Tuzun's secretary Abu 'Amr Masihi¹ fled secretly to his master at Wasit, and thither also went the Interpreter. There was a rumour that Muttaqi also was about to depart in the same direction ; great disorder arose in consequence, and the inhabitants rose the next day in a state of great apprehension. Muttaqi then ordered it to be proclaimed that any one who circulated the report of his departure should be outlawed. On Monday 14 Ramadan (May 22, 943) Saif al-daulah arrived at the *Harb Gate*² and encamped, he and his companions exhibiting the effects of the severe trials which they had endured in the desert. He was joined by his followers and persons who wished to enlist. Negotiations between him and Muttaqi were conducted by Abu Zakariyya Susi. He demanded the transmission of a sum of money, and promised to resist Tuzun if he arrived at the capital. Muttaqi transmitted to him 400,000 dirhems in instalments, and he was joined by all the officers who remained in Baghdad. He repeatedly said to his companions : " Abu'l-Wafa (father of honesty) Tuzun dealt dishonestly with us, surprising us at night when we were asleep ; only let him show himself by day when we are awake " and the like.

On Saturday —12 Ramadan (May 27, 943) Muttaqi bestowed a robe of honour (44) on the vizier Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah.

When Tuzun heard of Saif al-daulah's arrival in Baghdad, he left KAIGHALAGH in command at Wasit with three hundred retainers, and himself hastened upstream to Baghdad. So soon as the news of his advance reached Saif al-daulah, the latter dashed away from the *Harb Gate* in headlong flight with the officers who had joined him from the capital, among whom was Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Harun.³ Mohammed b. Yanal the

¹ See p. 40. We have not been told how he got back to Baghdad.

² He must have crossed the river above Baghdad.

³ Last heard of i. 358, when he was arrested by Ibn Ra'iq.

Interpreter entered Baghdad to herald Tuzun on —6 Ramadan (June 2, 943), and Tuzun himself entered the following day, and made the palace of Mu'nis his residence.

Baridi took advantage of Tuzun's absence from Wasit, and reached the place —3 Ramadan (June 5). He pillaged and burned, and appropriated all the crops. Tuzun arrested his secretary Abu 'Amr Masihi, and appointed as his secretary Abu Ja'far Karkhi.¹ Qarariti was put into the power of the vizier Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah, who fined him.

Account of the investiture of Tuzun with the office of Prince of princes.

When Tuzun arrived in Baghdad Muttaqi bestowed a robe of honour upon him, tied a banner for him, and invested him with the office of Prince of princes. Abu Ja'far Karkhi, Tuzun's secretary, began to manage affairs as Kufi had done.² Kufi had joined Saif al-daulah and fled with him. The period during which Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah had administered the empire prior to Abu Ja'far Karkhi undertaking the business was about a month.

When Kaighalagh had been left in command by Tuzun in Wasit, he had orders to resist Abu'l-Husain Baridi; being unequal to the task, he ascended the river to Baghdad. Tuzun could not at once return to Wasit; he had first to get affairs into order in the capital, and to make necessary preparations. He remained there during Shawwal (began June 8, 943) and the greater part of Dhu'l-Qa'dah (began July 7), by which time things had got settled.

When Saif al-daulah fled from Wasit, Tuzun had captured a boy slave of his named THAMIL (45), to whom

¹ Ex-vizier; last heard of i. 350.

² *i.e.*, without the title vizier,

he was much attached.¹ Tuzun now set him free, and despatched him with high honour as a present to his master, on the occasion of his entry at this time into Baghdad. The act was favourably regarded by both Saif al-daulah and Nasir al-daulah. The latter went so far as to say in Mausil: *Tuzun is a creature of mine, whom I have put in charge of the capital as my deputy.* In this Tuzun acquiesced.

He was however embittered against Baridi in consequence of the latter's outrageous treatment of him. He therefore went down to Wasit, leaving the Interpreter in command in Baghdad; he ordered Abu Ja'far Karkhi to follow him; and he gave the right to farm his estates to Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah at the latter's desire, for 130,000 dinars a year. At this time ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD came to Tuzun flying from Baridi. He was met by Tuzun on the Tigris, and received a welcome: Tuzun said to him: Abu Ja'far, you make my principate complete; heaven's favour to me culminates in you. You are my father; here is my ring (he pulled it off his own finger and presented it to Ibn Shirzad), do you administer me and dispose of me according to your discretion.—Ibn Shirzad kissed his hand and requested some respite, but Tuzun would not assent to any. ABU'L-HASAN ASMAR ("the brown") was standing by among a number of people, and said to Ibn Shirzad: For God's sake, sir, obey the Emir, give alms, and manage his affairs. Ibn Shirzad agreed, and undertook the management of his business. At the end of the same day he sent TAZAD B. 'ISA to act as his deputy in the capital. The period during which Abu Ja'far Karkhi had been secretary and administrator was something over twenty days.

¹ Mutanabbi has a dirge on a favourite slave of Saif al-daulah, whose name he gives as Yamaq. A somewhat similar story is told later of Bakhtiyar.

Account of the reason why Ibn Shirzad quitted Baridi, and of a strange coincidence that happened to him therein.

(46) In Dhu'l-Hijjah of this year (began Aug. 6, 943) YUSUF B. WAJIH, governor of Oman had come with a fleet of ships and *shadha'ahs* to Basrah meaning to fight the Baridis. He brought with him operators with fire-tubes, with whose aid he burned the Baridis' *shadha'ahs* and *zabzabs*, and obtained possession of Ubullah. He pressed the Baridis hard, and during the confusion Ibn Shirzad with Tazad and others fled. The cause of the defeat of Yusuf b. Wajih after his success is now to be narrated.

Account of a stratagem which succeeded against Yusuf b. Wajih.

He had made great progress with his enterprise, and was near taking Basrah. On Baridi's side however, there was a sailor named ZIYADI, who, when Yusuf b. Wajih was pressing the Baridis hard, and they were menaced with ruin, asked what would be done for him if he defeated the enemy and burned his ships. He was promised good treatment, if he achieved this, but did not inform Baridi what his plan was. He held his tongue and went away. He proceeded to take in the daytime two barges, without letting it be known for what he wanted them, and taking with him none of Baridi's men. He then proceeded to load these barges with palm-branches, an operation which attracts no attention in Basrah, and sent them down stream at the beginning of the night—also an operation of frequent occurrence in Basrah, which excites no suspicion. Now it was usual for Yusuf b. Wajih's vessels to be tied together at night athwart the Tigris so that they formed a sort of bridge. At night time, when every one, including the people on board those vessels, was sleeping, the sailor set fire to the palm-branches, and let the barges containing the fire

drift. They bore down upon the vessels and *shadha'ahs*, which caught fire ; their cables also were burned and broke, and those on board were burned also. Vast plunder was got out of them. Yusuf b. Wajih broke up his camp and fled headlong. The prospects of Baridi cleared and he fulfilled his promise to the sailor.

In this year the relations between Muttaqi and Tuzun became strained.

(47) *Account of the reason for the strained relations between Tuzun and Muttaqi, and the result.*

The Interpreter was displeased with Tuzun owing to a report which had reached him concerning the latter, and Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah was in fear of Tuzun, because his revenue-farming showed a deficit, and he was afraid that Tuzun would demand the whole sum promised and this would mean his ruin. The alarm of Ibn Muqlah was increased by the appointment of Ibn Shirzad to the secretaryship of Tuzun. No one doubted that Ibn Shirzad had come to Baghdad by Baridi's instructions,¹ and Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah was in fear and alarm lest Ibn Shirzad should demand of him the sums which were due from him as farmer of Tuzun's estates and fief. The Interpreter was also afraid, and so were others ; and there was much suspicion. The majority of the population at the capital were overcome by despair. Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah and the Interpreter between them arranged to negotiate with Nasir al-daulah for the despatch of some one to escort Muttaqi and bring him to Nasir al-daulah. It was represented to Muttaqi that quite recently he had awaited Baridi and the consequences had been regrettable : " he took from you " it was said " half a million dinars ; on the second occasion you departed to Nasir al-daulah, and God gave you the victory so that you returned in triumph. Baridi has now offered to extort half a million dinars from you,

¹ Above, p. 45, this was denied.

telling Tuzun that you still hold them out of the estate of Bachkam ; and here is Ibn Shirzad arriving for the purpose of dethroning you and then putting you into Baridi's power." This impressed Muttaqi, in consideration of what had gone before ; and shortly afterwards Ibn Shirzad arrived at the capital with 300 retainers.

In this year there arrived the news of the death of NASR B. AHMAD in Khorasan, and the accession of his son NUH.

YEAR 332.

Ibn Shirzad arrived on —5 Muharram (Sept. 29, 943) and entered Baghdad. Neither Muttaqi nor the majority doubted that he had come for the rumoured purpose. He was received by Muttaqi on the day of his arrival in Baghdad ; the vizier Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah and the Interpreter urged Muttaqi to arrest him, but Muttaqi declined. Ibn Shirzad made a hurried departure, and proceeded to issue orders and prohibitions. He released (49) Qarariti from confinement, and attended to the Vizier's business.

ABU 'ABDALLAH HUSAIN B. SA'ID B. HAMDAN now arrived with a vast army and encamped at the Harb Gate ; Muttaqi with his womenfolk, the vizier Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah, and the Interpreter went out to him. Ibn Shirzad went into hiding. The notables and Clerks of the capital went out to Husain's camp. When Muttaqi had got to Takrit, Ibn Shirzad reappeared, and practised extortion and violence.

Saif al-daulah now came down from Mausil, at the head of his army. Tuzun, who was in Wasit, hearing what had taken place in Baghdad, viz. the departure of the Caliph and the vizier, hastily despatched MUSA B. SULAIMAN with a force of a thousand men to the capital. This commander accordingly proceeded thither and encamped at the Shammasiyyah Gate. Tuzun waited till he had given Baridi the contract for the farming of Wasit,

after which he proceeded to Baghdad and there made his retainer SAFI prefect of police. Nasir al-daulah now proceeded with an army downstream, and was met by the Caliph in Takrit. Tuzun marched to 'Ukbara, and crossed at Samarra from the Eastern bank to Qasr al-Jass. Muttaqi went upstream to Mausil accompanied by the vizier Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah, Qarariti, and Abu Zakariyya Susi.

Saif al-daulah advanced to meet Tuzun, and an engagement commenced between the two, two parasangs below Takrit; where Nasir al-daulah himself remained. The battle between Saif al-daulah and Tuzun lasted Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; on the Thursday¹ Saif al-daulah was routed, and he with Nasir al-daulah retired upstream. The Bedouins plundered part of their baggage, and Tuzun got possession of the rest. His followers however mutinied, so he retired to Baghdad. Saif al-daulah (49) made preparations for a second engagement with Tuzun, and advanced to Takrit. Tuzun came out to the Shammasiyyah Gate, and thence proceeded to another region;² here Tuzun engaged Saif al-daulah, who was routed and pursued by Tuzun. When Saif al-daulah reached Mausil, he with Nasir al-daulah, Muttaqi, the vizier and their suite departed thence to Nisibin. Tuzun then entered Mausil, accompanied by Ibn Shirzad, and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Abi Musa Hashimi, the former of whom collected from the place about 100,000 dinars.

Muttaqi with his womenfolk and company departed from Nisibin for Raqqa, where they were joined by Saif al-daulah. Tuzun, at the time of his quitting Baghdad, had married his daughter to Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, the act of presentation being performed in Shammasiyyah. Muttaqi now sent Abu Zakariyya

¹ The date seems to have fallen out.

² *i.e.*, Harba, between Baghdad and Takrit.

Susi with a letter to Tuzun, containing the following statement: *I took alarm when I learned that you had made common cause with the Baridis, who have wrought such mischief time after time; that is why I left the capital. But now let bygones be bygones; if you desire my favour, then make terms with Nasir al-daulah, and go back to the capital. If I find you obeying me, I will return, and your affairs will be set in order through me and my favour, and God will be your helper.*

Abu Zakariyya narrated as follows: When I entered the presence of Tuzun, he eyed me with suspicion, and had a mind to put me to death, only I was rescued by Ibn Shirzad, who said: Prince, I assure you that I requested Abu Zakariyya to go with the Caliph, as he is a partisan of ours, and would represent us at his court; if he is suspect, then I am suspect also. I (says Abu Zakariyya) then presented the letter, which Ibn Shirzad accepted. He advised Tuzun to assent to the proposals; I proceeded to act as negotiator, until peace was concluded. More than 200,000 dinars were paid to Ibn Shirzad before and after (50) its conclusion. The country was assigned to Nasir al-daulah for three years, for 3,600,000 dirhems to be paid each year. Tuzun then returned to Baghdad.

A series of reports now arrived to the effect that the prince Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi had invaded Wasit. The Baridis had promised to assist him with a force on the water, but had failed him. Tuzun descended the river to resist him, and the armies met in the place called the Arches of Humaid; the engagement lasted over ten days, and was conducted strenuously by both sides; only each day Tuzun was retiring while the Dailemites were advancing in accordance with their customary tactics;¹ many were slain on both sides. Finally Tuzun retreated across the Diyala to the side

¹ See i. 298.

nearest Baghdad, and cut the bridges which he had thrown across it. When the armies were separated by the river the Turks made a stand. Tuzun had some craft called *zabzab*, and erections in the water, wherein retainers of his who were bowmen were placed, and these every day got control over some portion of Ahmad b. Buwaihi's stores, and some of the boats belonging to his army. They would then prevent his troops getting to the water, causing them and their beasts to suffer from thirst. Ahmad b. Buwaihi thought it best to mount the Diyala to the Nahrawan bridge, to get away from the Tigris while keeping near water, and there devise some plan for obtaining supplies which had run short. This did not escape Tuzun.

Account of a stratagem successfully employed against Ahmad b. Buwaihi, whereby he was routed after he had won a victory.

Tuzun crossed the river with 500 Turks commanded by TAKIN SHIRZADI, and a thousand Arab horsemen, commanded by IBRAHIM MUTAWWAQ, QATINAH, and their like, at a point where they were not (51) perceived by Ahmad b. Buwaihi. As the latter advanced, followed by his baggage, the forces of Tuzun intercepted the baggage, and fell upon the army when it was unprepared. Tuzun with some of his followers hurriedly swam the stream, and proceeded to slaughter and take prisoners till they were tired. Ahmad b. Buwaihi escaped with Saimari and a small party, who arrived at Sus in a terrible plight. There after some days they were joined by some of the fugitives, while Tuzun returned to Baghdad.

In Safar of this year¹ a robber named IBN HAMDI showed himself, after having succeeded in defying the government. Ibn Shirzad bestowed on him a robe of honour, and enrolled him as a soldier, making an agree-

¹ Began Oct. 4, 943.

ment with him whereby he was to pay every month 15,000 dinars out of the robberies perpetrated by him and his gang. Ibn Shirzad obtained the robber's signature to this contract, and made him keep its terms. And the robber used to obtain the collector's receipts and quittances for his payments as they became due.¹

In this year ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI put to death his brother ABU YUSUF.

Account of the reason for Baridi's murder of his brother ; what followed the perpetration of the act ; and the end of Baridi's career.

Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, having been besieged for eleven months by Saif al-daulah at the time of his residence in Wasit,² and afterwards by Tuzun, was in straitened circumstances. His troops became disorderly, and he bethought of deserting to his brother Abu Yusuf, who was well to do. Abu 'Abdallah obtained loan after loan from his brother, who however would only advance quite small sums, and taunted him with his failure and wastefulness, declaring that his successes must have been due to fortune, not to skill. Presently he went further and charged him with madness and foolhardiness. Abu 'Abdallah was convinced that Abu Yusuf meant to arrest him, and put him under restraint with the view of restricting him to a (52) scanty allowance. Each of the two became suspicious of the other.

It was stated by ISRA'IL the Collector, who was attached to the service of Abu 'Abdallah, that he was summoned by the latter, who, after complaining of the straits wherein he found himself, said to him : Go to my brother Abu Yusuf—here he pointed to a casket which was in front of him, and when opened was found

¹ For a somewhat similar arrangement in modern Spain see Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, tr. Stokes, p. 310.

² The dates given above would make Saif al-daulah's residence in Wasit at most nine months.

to contain beads of pearl and red and blue ruby¹ which dazzled the gazer—take this to him, and ask him to lend me ten thousand dinars upon it. The contents of the casket had been a present given by Bachkam to Abu 'Abdallah's daughter Sarah, when he married her²; Bachkam had purloined them from the Caliph's Palace, and Abu 'Abdallah had purloined them from his daughter. Accordingly, Isra'il continued, I went to Abu Yusuf, displayed the casket to him, and repeated all that his brother had said to me.—Abu'l-Tayyib, he said addressing me, with this man's mismanagement I fancy if the Tigris were to run in money, he could squander it away. Here is a fellow who during his repeated ministries in Wasit procured eight million dinars. Ought he not to have kept a million as a reserve?—I replied: To whom, sir, should he more naturally appeal than to you in any emergency? Please let him have what he asks.—He said: From the time when he quitted Wasit up to the present I have given him fifty thousand dinars; and still he is not satisfied. Send and fetch the jewellers, and let them assess these gems; I will then give him their value.—They were sent for and fetched. When the casket was produced, they said: They have no price that can be fixed; if a royal prince is keen to buy, he accepts the owner's valuation, however vast the sum which he may demand.—He said: Fools, who told you that I was Marwan the Umayyad (a prince who had a taste for gems, and was keen to buy them) or Khumarawaihi b. Ahmad and Ibn al-Jassas?³ Price them at a sum which you could pay down in the afternoon if I were to demand it in the morning.—They valued them at 5,000 dinars.—He bade them give their signatures to this. They hesitated, and presently reduced the amount to 50,000 dirhems, which they guaranteed.—Abu Yusuf

¹ A "blue ruby" is a sapphire.

² See i. 410.

³ Stories illustrating the purchases by the last two will be found in the Table Talk.

then said to me : That is the sum I will give you.—I requested him to make it 5,000 dinars. He replied : Go now, and leave room in the price for a further demand ; for he is quite sure to make (53) one.¹—So I went back to Abu 'Abdallah with 50,000 dirhems, and told him the tale. He exclaimed : There is no god but Allah. Go and say to Abu Yusuf from me that it is my "madness" and "mismanagement" of which he speaks that has installed him in his present place and made of him a second Corah.² He proceeded to enumerate the services he had rendered his brother, and shed tears, while his countenance assumed an ominous expression. Some ten days after this he stationed his retainers, among whom were YANIS, IQBAL, and a slave employed by Yanis as boatman, in a covered passage between the gate of his house in Ubullah, which had belonged to FADLAN the Saji, and the bank. Lying in ambush there these retainers sprang on Abu Yusuf with their knives. He kept crying out *Brother, brother, they are murdering me!*, to which Abu 'Abdallah replied *Go to God's curse!* The other brother, Abu'l-Husain, who was living in the neighbourhood, came out to his balcony which overlooked the Tigris, and exclaimed *Brother, have you murdered him?* Abu 'Abdallah answered *Silence, miserable knave; else I will send you after him!* So Abu'l-Husain calmed himself.

The troops made a disturbance, supposing Abu Yusuf to be alive. Abu 'Abdallah thereupon exhumed the corpse and exhibited it to them. This quieted them. He then restored it to its grave.

He then moved into the house at Mismaran, and as soon as he had taken possession of it he demanded the gems, which were brought to him. ISRA'IL narrated as follows : I went to him, and when he saw me he said :

¹ *i.e.*, let this sum be treated as not the full price.

² This person's treasures are described in the Qur'an.

My lad, produce the casket.—I produced it. He then said to me: Abu'l-Tayyib, we have got the money and the jewels, and the scoundrel has gone to God's curse.—Abu 'Abdallah then deposited these gems with his son Abu'l Qasim secretly, bidding him conceal them. When Abu 'Abdallah was dead, and his brother Abu'l-Husain succeeded to the power, he instituted a strenuous search for these gems, but could not find any trace of them. He was told that they had been confided to the charge of some person unknown. When Abu'l-Qasim made his journey to Hajar, he took them with him. The people there begged to be shown them; he granted this request and presented them with one of the gems. When he came to Baghdad in the days of Mu'izz al-daulah the latter demanded a sight of them, and Abu'l-Husain brought them to him. Mu'izz al-daulah endeavoured to purchase them from him through ABU MAKHLAD 'ABDALLAH B. YAHYA, but he declined to sell. Afterwards he thought better and assented. They were priced at the same figure as that which had been named by the traders of Basrah. Abu Makhlad (54) demanded that the price of the gem which was kept by the people of Hajar should be deducted. So he was offered 3,000 dinars for 45,000 dirhems, and a bill was given him for that amount on the date-merchants, from whom he obtained full payment.¹

Abu 'Abdallah Baridi suspected ABU'L-HASAN IBN ASAD² of having wished to stir up strife between him and his brother Abu Yusuf; and he was told that he held sixteen million dirhems. When Abu 'Abdallah got possession of his brother's estate, an account-book was produced containing an autograph list of Abu Yusuf's deposits. No other name figured as that of a depository except Ibn Asad's. Abu 'Abdallah demanded the money

¹ The expression in the text is elucidated by a passage in *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah*, ii. 107.

² See i. 364, where we learn that he was Abu Yusuf's finance-minister.

of him, but without violence, and confirmed him in the appointments which he held. Ibn Asad went home and transmitted to Abu 'Abdallah two million and a half dirhems, without showing himself to Abu 'Abdallah, whom he informed that the balance could not be produced; for, he said, these sums had been debited to him (Ibn Asad) by Abu Yusuf, by reason of a series of disappointments that had overtaken him in the course of a year in Abu Yusuf's service;¹ Abu Yusuf had then made him sign a statement that these sums were deposited with him. Now at the bottom of the list which was discovered he (Abu Yusuf) had drawn up a statement of his revenue-farming for each year, including the sums which the agents had brought in and the amounts due which had not been paid, which Ibn Asad had acknowledged in writing to be deposited with himself. These last amounted to the deficit of thirteen and a half millions. Abu 'Abdallah was in profound distress, and he said: The blood of my brother is on the neck of Ibn Asad; I murdered him because I coveted his wealth.² Ibn Asad departed and Abu 'Abdallah failed to catch him; presently Abu 'Abdallah offered him an amnesty and he showed himself. In an interview he defended himself, and stated that more than four million dirhems were due to him as arrears of this year in the districts, and that he had a number of partners, among them ABU'L-'ALA SA'ID B. THABIT, his father and his brother, and ABU 'ALI ANBARI, who had fled, but for whom the *qadi* ABU'L-HUSAIN IBN NASRAWAIHI mediated.

From all sources then and by disgraceful methods Abu 'Abdallah got together in addition to the two and a half million dirhems that had been transmitted an additional ten million. The rest could not be realised and Abu Yusuf had lost his life.

¹ *i.e.*, sums which he should have collected, but had been unable to collect.

² *i.e.*, as Ibn Asad was the gainer by the crime, he ought to bear the penalty.

In this year ABU'L-'ABBAS ASHKURAJ the Dailemite, whom Tuzun had appointed prefect of police in (55) Baghdad, arrested the robber Ibn Hamdi, and severed his body at the waist. This alleviated the mischief wrought by robbers on the population, and put a stop to their crimes, after the people had been compelled to guard against them at night with trumpet-alarms, and been unable to sleep for fear of their attacks.

In this year intelligence arrived of the occupation of Wasit by the Prince Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad b. Buwaihi, and the departure of Baridi's partisans thence to Basrah.

In this year Mohammed b. Yanal the Interpreter visited Saif al-daulah, who was at Raqqah. He was rated by Saif al-daulah for a variety of actions which had been reported to the latter as having been committed by him. He was suspected of having constituted himself commander of the Persian troops, and having plotted with Muttaqi to assassinate Saif al-daulah. Mohammed b. Yanal denied these charges; but as he left Saif al-daulah's presence after his rating, Saif al-daulah's retainers sprang on him with their swords, and put him to death.

In this year intelligence arrived of the death of SULAIMAN B. HASAN ABU TAHIR THE QARMATIAN, of smallpox. He was succeeded by his brothers.

Story of the man of Ispahan who devised a scheme whereby the Qarmatians were to be killed by their own hands, and who came near exterminating them.

IBN SANBAR was the foe of the person known as ABU HAFS THE PARTNER. During Abu Tahir's lifetime he devised the following plot. Summoning a certain man from Ispahan Ibn Sanbar revealed to him certain secrets which Abu Sa'id Jannabi had in his lifetime revealed to him (Ibn Sanbar) and to no-one else, as well as the places where certain treasures known only to him were

deposited. Abu Tahir was not aware that his father Abu Sa'id had communicated these matters to Ibn Sanbar, who proceeded to give the following instructions to the man from Ispahan. Go, he said, to Abu Tahir, and tell him that you are the person to whom both he and his father have been inviting people's allegiance;¹ when he asks you for signs and (56) evidence, you are to reveal these secrets.—Ibn Sanbar stipulated that when the man from Ispahan came into power, he should put Abu Hafis the Partner to death. To this the man from Ispahan pledged himself; he then proceeded to Abu Tahir, showed him the signs and revealed the secrets, and Abu Tahir felt no doubt about the signs. Rising up before the man from Ispahan, he surrendered his authority to him, and calling his followers told them that this was the person to whom he had been inviting them to do homage, and that the power was now his.

The man from Ispahan thus became possessed of the supremacy, and when established therein kept his promise to Ibn Sanbar; he put Abu Hafis the Partner to death. He then proceeded to order Abu Tahir and his brothers to put to death anyone whom he chose, using the formula *So-and-so is ailing*, meaning that he had religious doubts and so must be killed. He thus slew one after another of their leading men, and those among them who were prominent for intelligence or bravery. His orders were carried out without resistance until he had got rid of a large number. When he ordered a man to put to death his brother, father or son, the person ordered did not hesitate, but hastened to carry the order out. Abu Tahir became afraid of him, and learning that he was contemplating his own (Abu Tahir's) execution, said to his brothers: I have committed a blunder

¹ According to Ibn Khaldun, iv. 100, the Qarmatians preached allegiance to the Mahdi 'Ubaidallah until 317 A.H. when Abu Tahir removed the Black Stone (above i. 201); the Madhi wrote him so severe a letter on this subject, given by Ibn Khaldun, that Abu Tahir renounced his allegiance.

in the matter of this person ; he is not the rightful sovereign, who knows the thoughts of the hearts and from whom no secret is concealed, who can heal the sick, and do what he pleases.—So they went and told him that their mother was ill, and bade him come and see her ; having first put her to bed and covered her with a shawl. The man came and when he saw her, he said to them : This is an incurable complaint, you had best *cleanse* her (meaning kill her). When he said this, they told their mother to sit up, which she did. They then said to him: She is in perfect health, and you are a liar. They then put him to death.¹

The Qarmatians had seven viziers, of whom Ibn Sanbar was chief ; and Abu Tahir had two brothers, ABU'L-QASIM SA'ID B. HASAN and ABU'L-'ABBAS AL-FADL B. HASAN ; also a third brother, ABU YA'QUB ISHAQ, who took no part in the management of their affairs, and was given up to drinking and (57) dancing. The three were in complete agreement. When they wished to arrange any business, they would mount their horses, ride out into the country, and decide upon a course of action which they revealed to no-one else. On their return they would carry out the counsel to which they had agreed.

(58) In this year there died ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI of an acute fever, which lasted seven days. Between his murder of his brother Abu Yusuf and his death there was an interval of eight months and three days ; blessed be God, Lord of the worlds !

His son, ABU'L-QASIM, after his power had come to an end, and he had gone to Baghdad, recounted how, when his father died in Basrah, his father's brother

¹ In the notes to the Arabic text a somewhat different account of this affair is cited from Dhahabi ; the name of the impostor is given as Abu'l-Faḍl Ibn Zakariyya the Mazdian, and a number of details are added on the authority of Ibn Hamdan, who claims to have been court-physician to Abu Tahir. The credibility of these details seems doubtful.

(59) Abu'l-Husain stepped into his place. One of Abu 'Abdallah's armies was at the Prince's Canal,¹ facing the Prince Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi, and another at Matara. The Dailemites in Abu 'Abdallah's employ were under the control of Ya'nis, to whom they were attached; between him and Abu'l-Husain there was secret hostility and mutual aversion. When Abu'l-Husain obtained the supremacy, he began (60) to treat the Dailemites and Turks with haughty contempt, which they resented. Ya'nis, perceiving this, went to his patron Abu'l-Qasim, son of his former patron Abu Abdallah, and said to him: If you have money, I will win the troops over to you, and make you chief.—Abu'l-Qasim admitted that he had 300,000 dinars. Ya'nis proceeded to win over the Dailemites and the other troops to Abu'l-Qasim's side, and made a conspiracy with them to assault Abu'l-Husain, and appoint as chief Abu'l-Qasim, on whose part he guaranteed good treatment of themselves. The army that was at the Prince's Canal accordingly moved to Mismaran, where Abu'l-Husain was, and surprised him while sleeping; slipping out from beneath his mosquito-curtain, he got away on foot and wearing a disguise to Ja'fariyyah,² and after writing to the ruler of Hajar to request his protection, he proceeded thither, and was most warmly welcomed. He begged for their help in his project of returning to Basrah and resuming the chieftainship, which they agreed to give. He remained with the people of Hajar for about a month, and during this time the rule of Abu'l-Qasim son of Abu 'Abdallah became established in Basrah. Abu'l-Husain then proceeded from Hajar accompanied by two of Abu Tahir's brothers. When they reached the wall of Basrah, they found that Abu'l-Qasim, being prepared for his enterprise, had set guards

¹ At Wasit. There was some doubt about the prince after whom it was called. There was another canal of the name at Basrah.

² Mentioned by Muqaddasi among the dependencies of Basrah, and occupied by the Qarmatians.

upon it, (61) and as they found no means of entering the city they waited a long time. Presently the men of Hajar grew weary, and entered into correspondence with Abu'l-Qasim, with the view of negotiating a peace between him and his uncle. They asked Abu'l-Qasim to give his uncle a safe-conduct, and permit him to enter Basrah. Abu'l-Qasim adopted a cautious attitude until he had made his preparations, when Abu'l-Husain elected to depart to Baghdad. He then gave the permission solicited, and Abu'l-Husain quitting him departed to the capital.

Then Ya'nis aspired to the chieftainship, and conspired with RUSTABASH to deprive Abu'l-Qasim of it. When they had matured their plan, Rustabash and the Dailemites began to move, and held an assembly in the dwelling of Rustabash. Rustabash however thought it a better plan to assault Ya'nis, and make himself sole chieftain. When therefore Ya'nis left his presence, he sent some one after him to attack him; Ya'nis was hurrying away when his Dailemite pursuer flung a spear at him, which lodged in his back. Ya'nis however got away and took refuge in a deserted place near the palace of Abu'l-Qasim, where, as it was night, his whereabouts remained unknown. Rustabash went to the residence of LASHKARISTAN, registrar of the Dailemites, and manager of Ya'nis's affairs. Abu'l-Qasim Baridi was in despair when he heard the news, and was thinking of taking his seat in his barge and quitting his palace. But when Lashkaristan learned that Rustabash had assaulted Ya'nis, and meditated making himself sole ruler, he would not support him, and when the Dailemites cried out, he chid them so that they dispersed, and some of them went off at once and apologized.¹ Rustabash, deserted by his followers, fled by night and went into hiding. Abu'l-Qasim next morning found himself in secure possession. Learning what had happened to

¹ Apparently to Abu'l-Qasim Baridi.

Ya'nis he had him conveyed honourably to his residence ; Rustabash being discovered was banished to Jaidah.¹ Ya'nis received medical care till he recovered, but was suspected by Abu'l-Qasim, who after a few days arrested both him and Lashkaristan, fined the former 100,000 dinars, and banished him to Oman. When he was about to embark in his *hudaïdi*, one of Abu'l-Qasim's retainers rushed out and assassinated him. Lashkaristan also was put to death, and Abu'l-Qasim's supremacy became secure.

On one day of this year, when Tuzun was seated to receive complimentary visitors, and people were standing in his presence, he had a stroke. Ibn Shirzad and Musa b. Sulaiman sprang up and threw over his face a cloak that was on (62) Musa's head, and screened him from the bystanders, being unwilling that they should see him in this state. The people were dismissed with the explanation that the Emir had a bilious attack due to the effects of wine-drinking.

In this year the army of the nation called THE RUSSIANS invaded Adharbaijan, where they attacked and seized Bardha'ah, taking its inhabitants captive.

Account of the exploits of the Russians and their issue.

They are a mighty nation with vast frames and great courage. They know not defeat, nor does any of them turn his back till he slay or be slain. It is the practice of the individual among them to carry his armour, while bearing suspended upon his person an artisan's outfit, axe, saw, hammer, and the like. He fights with spear and shield ; he wears a sword and has hung upon him a lance and an instrument resembling a poniard. They fight on foot, especially these invaders. For indeed after sailing the sea which washes their country² they crossed to a vast river called the Kur, which has its

¹ According to Yaqut a place in the Hijaz.

² The Caspian.

source in the mountains of Adharbaijan and Armenia, and flows into this sea. It is the river of Bardha'ah, which they compare to the Tigris. When they reached the Kur they were met by Marzuban's¹ officer who served as his governor of Bardha'ah at the head of three hundred Dailemites and about the same number of Su'luks and Kurds. He also summoned the people of the place to arms, and was joined by some 5,000 volunteers anxious to fight these invaders. They were however under a delusion, not knowing the strength of the Russians, whom they expected to behave like Greeks or Armenians. When they met them in battle not more than an hour elapsed before the Russians made a fierce onslaught which routed the army of Bardha'ah; the volunteers and the rest of the troops turned their backs with the exception of the Dailemites, who stood their ground and were killed to a man except such of them as were mounted. The Russians then pursued the fugitives to the town, whence every one, soldier or civilian who had a mount to carry him fled (63) leaving the town to be entered and seized by the Russians.

I was informed by ABU'L-'ABBAS IBN NUDAR and a number of careful enquirers how the Russians when they hurried into the town made a proclamation to the following effect to the citizens: There is no dispute between us on the matter of religion; we only desire the sovereignty; it is our duty to treat you well and yours to be loyal to us.—The armies however came against them from all sides, only to be routed by the Russians who made sorties. When the Moslems charged the Russians, the people of Bardha'ah cried out *Allah Akbar*, and flung stones at the Russians. The latter had charged the people of Bardha'ah to restrain themselves, and not interfere between them and the Sultan²;

¹ See above, p. 36, where Marzuban b. Mohammed b. Musafir is supreme throughout Adharbaijan.

² *i.e.*, the Moslem government.

but though this advice was accepted by the respectable classes, the common people and the rabble would not restrain themselves, but gave vent to their feelings by attacking the Russians when the followers of the Sultan charged them. After a time they issued a proclamation that none of the original inhabitants were to remain in the town, after three days from the day of the proclamation. All who had mounts to carry them their womenfolk and their children left the place. These however were a small minority; when the fourth day came the majority were still there; so the Russians put them to the sword, slaughtering countless numbers. After the massacre they bound over ten thousand men and lads with their womenfolk, their wives and their daughters; they proceeded to place the women and children in a fortress within the city called locally Shahrستان, where they had taken up their quarters, lodged their troops and entrenched themselves. They then gathered the men into the Public Mosque, set guards at the doors, and bade the men ransom themselves.

Account of a sound scheme suggested by one of them, which they declined to follow, in consequence whereof they were massacred and their goods and families were pillaged.

There was in the place a Christian clerk of sound judgment, named IBN SAM'UN, who acted as negotiator between the parties, and made an arrangement with the Russians, whereby each man should be ransomed for twenty (64) dirhems. The wiser among the Moslems acceded to this arrangement, but the others disapproved, holding that it was Ibn Sam'un's purpose to equalise the Moslems with the Christians as payers of poll-tax.¹ Ibn Sam'un therefore broke off negotiations; the

¹ Probably this is corrupt for a word meaning "ransom," since a single payment could not well be called "poll-tax," and the Islamic law assesses at different rates the lives of different religious communities.

Russians delayed their massacre, hoping to get this trifling amount from their intended victims. When it was not forthcoming, they put them to the sword, and indeed slew them to the last man except a few who got away in a narrow conduit which conveyed water to the Mosque, and such as purchased their lives with hoards which they happened to possess. It happened in some cases that a Moslem arranged with a Russian to buy his life for a certain sum, and went with the Russian to his house or shop. When he produced his hoard, and it turned out to be more than the sum which he had covenanted to pay, the Russian would not let him keep it, not even if it were many times more than the amount, but kept raising his demands till he had ruined the man ; only when the Russian was convinced that nothing remained to him, no gold, silver, bedding or clothing, would he let him go, giving him a piece of stamped clay to serve as a safe-conduct. Thus the Russians possessed themselves of a vast amount of property. They retained the females and lads, on whom they gratified their lusts, and whom they enslaved.

When the terrible nature of the calamity was realized, and the Moslems in the different countries heard about it, they called for a general expedition. Marzuban b. Mohammed mustered his troops, and called for a general enlistment. Volunteers joined him from all directions. He marched at the head of 30,000 men, but in spite of the numbers that he had gathered he was unable to make head against the Russians or to produce any effect upon them. Morning and evening he used to attack them, and regularly retire defeated. The war continued to be waged in this style for many days, and the Moslems were always the vanquished.

When the Moslems found themselves unable to deal with the Russians, and Marzuban began to realize the situation, he had recourse to strategy. It so happened

that when the Russians had got into Bardha'ah,¹ they indulged excessively in the fruit of which there are numerous sorts there.² This produced an epidemic among them, as theirs is an exceedingly cold country, where no tree grows, and the little fruit which they have is imported from distant (65) regions. When their numbers began thereby to be reduced, Marzuban, seeking for a stratagem, bethought him of laying an ambush for them at night. He therefore arranged with his army that they should make a hurried attack; when the Russians charged, he with his followers should let themselves be routed, thereby encouraging them to hope that they would be able to annihilate the Moslem army; when the Russians got beyond the place where the ambush lay, Marzuban with his followers should return to the charge and shout to the ambush a cry on which they had agreed; when the Russians had thus got between the two forces, the Moslems would have them in their power.

The morning after this scheme had been arranged, Marzuban with his followers advanced, and the Russians came out to meet them. Their commander was mounted on an ass, and his followers came out and ranged themselves in order of battle. The usual procedure occurred. Marzuban with the Moslems took to flight, and were pursued by the Russians till they had got beyond the place of the ambush. Only the Moslems continued their flight.

MARZUBAN afterwards narrated how, when he saw his followers act thus, and his earnest entreaties to them to renew the fight were unavailing owing to the terror of the Russians which had seized their hearts, he recognized that if this went on, the Russians on their return would not fail to notice the ambush, which would in

¹ The text has Maraghah, but it is not stated that they overran all Adhar-baijan; this seems therefore to be a scribe's error.

² Moses of Khorene mentions olives and cucumbers.

consequence be destroyed. So, he said, I turned round myself with my personal attendants, my brother, my stafi, and my retainers, having made up my mind to die a martyr's death. Thereupon most of the Dailemites were shamed into doing the like ; we charged, cried out to the ambush, which issued forth behind the Russians, fought them in brave style, and killed seven hundred of them, including their commander ; the remainder made their way into the fortress in the town where they had established their quarters and whither they had moved a quantity of food and stores, and where they housed their captives and their treasures.

While Marzuban was besieging them, with no other plan than to reduce them by protracted siege, news reached him that ABU 'ABDALLAH HUSAIN B. SA'ID B. Hamdan¹ had entered Adharbaijan and reached Salmas, where he had united forces with JA'FAR B. SHAKKUYAH the Kurd who was at the head of the Hadayan² hordes. Marzuban was therefore compelled to leave one of his officers to fight the Russians (66) with five hundred Dailemites, fifteen hundred Kurdish horsemen, and two thousand volunteers ; he himself proceeded to Auran,³ where he met Abu 'Abdallah. An insignificant engagement ensued, when there was a heavy snowfall ; the followers of Abu 'Abdallah, most of whom were Arabs, became disorderly, and deserted him ; he in consequence made for one of the fortified cities, but was met on the way by a despatch from his cousin Nasir al-daulah, informing him of the death of Tuzun in Baghdad, and the desertion of Tuzun's troops to himself, and of his deter-

¹ He had been Nasir al-daulah's minister of public security there in 326, i. 404.

² In Ibn Hauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 156, the name is spelt Hadnaniyyah. They are said *ibid*, 239, to be quartered at Ushnuh near Urmiah. In the list of Kurdish tribes given by Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, pp. 553-592, neither of these names figures ; the nearest would appear to be Danan, but its location is very different.

³ This place is not mentioned by Yaqut. Azan near Salmas on the modern maps seems likely to be meant.

mination to descend with them to Baghdad in order to fight Mu'izz al-daulah, who had entered and taken possession of the city after Tuzun's departure upstream. He therefore ordered Abu 'Abdallah to evacuate Adharbaijan and rejoin him, which he did.

The followers of Marzuban continued to attack and besiege the Russians till the latter grew weary. The epidemic became severe in addition. When one of them died they buried with him his arms, clothes and equipment, also his wife or some other of his womenfolk, and his slave, if he happened to be attached to him; this being their practice.¹ After their power had come to an end the Moslems disturbed their graves and brought out a number of swords which are in great demand to this day for their sharpness and excellence. When their numbers were reduced, they left by night the fortress in which they had established their quarters, carrying on their backs all they could of their treasure, gems and fine raiment, and burning the rest. They dragged with them such women, boys and girls as they wanted, and made for the Kur, where the ships in which they had issued from their home were in readiness with their crews, and three hundred Russians whom they had been supporting with portions of their booty. They embarked and departed, and God saved the Moslems from them.

From persons who witnessed these Russians I heard wonderful stories of their prowess and contempt of the Moslem forces gathered against them. Thus there was a story current in the region which I heard from many persons how five Russians were assembled in a garden in Bardha'ah, one of them (67) a beardless lad of fair countenance, the son of one of their chieftains with some captive women. When the Moslems knew of their presence, they surrounded the garden, and a large number of Dailemite and other troops came together to fight

¹This is recorded by the other authorities on the early Russians.

these five. They tried hard to get a single prisoner out of the number, but it was not possible, for none of them would capitulate, and they could not be killed before they had slain many times their number of the Moslems. The beardless lad was the last survivor. When he perceived that he was going to be captured, he mounted a tree that was near him, and kept slashing away at his vital parts with his scimitar till he fell dead.

In this year Muttaqi became conscious that the *Hamdanids* were growing weary of him and of his residence among them, and anxious that he should quit. He sent to negotiate a peace with Tuzun, who received the proposal with delight and eagerness. Muttaqi's message was conveyed by *HASAN B. HARUN* and *ABU 'ABDALLAH IBN ABI MUSA HASHIMI*. These two obtained from him solemn oaths and assurances of fidelity to Muttaqi and to the vizier *Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah*, and Tuzun summoned the judges, Witnesses, representatives of the families of 'Abbas and *Abu Talib*, and chief clerks in order to swear in their presence to Muttaqi. A copy of the oath was carefully made out, and all those present set their attestations that Tuzun had sworn it.

YEAR 333.

On Thursday 13 *Muharram* (Sep. 5, 944) the *Ikhshid*¹ came to the court of Muttaqi who was in *Raqqah*, and was received with the highest honours; the *Ikhshid* stood in Muttaqi's presence in the attitude of a retainer with a weapon at his waist,² and when Muttaqi rode, the *Ikhshid* went on foot in front of him, and declined his invitation to mount. (68) He kept this up, mixing with the retainers, till Muttaqi himself dismounted, to whom he brought presents of money and other kinds; to *Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah* he brought 20,000 dinars, and left no clerk nor doorkeeper without a gift. He tried

¹ Mohammed b. Tughj, see i. 332.

² Probably the reference is to some weapon worn by the Turks or *Daliemites*.

hard to induce Muttaqi to come with him to Egypt or Syria, where he (the Ikhshid) could serve him, but Muttaqi would not assent. Then the Ikhshid suggested to him to remain where he was, but he would not accept this proposal either. When both these plans were rejected, the Ikhshid addressed himself to the vizier Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah, and suggested to him to come with him (the Ikhshid) to Egypt, promising to execute his orders and to oppose none of his plans. But the vizier would not agree. At a later period he professed to regret his refusal, saying *The Ikhshid gave me good advice, but I declined it.* The coins of the Ikhshid remained in the coffer of Ibn Muqlah till they were plundered when Muttaqi was arrested.

(69) When Muttaqi had obtained the assurances from Tuzun, he began to descend the Euphrates from Raqqah with the intention of returning to Baghdad; he was accompanied by two of the Ikhshid's retainers, MOHAMMED B. FAIRUZ and NAQT. When he reached Hit, (70) he stopped there, and sent the qadi Khiraqi and Ibn Shirzad¹ to renew the oaths, covenants and obligations with Tuzun, on whom Mutt . . . bestowed various honours, such as the title *the Muz iffar* (i.e. the Victorious). The qadi returned to (71) Hit to state that he had made matters certain with Tuzun. On —1 Safar (Sep. 21, 944) Tuzun went out to the breach in the dyke of Sindiyyah, while the vizier Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah stationed himself (72) on the bank of the Euphrates; between Tuzun and Muttaqi there was about a parasang. When Muttaqi was preparing to descend the river, Tuzun came to meet him, dismounted and kissed the ground before him, and then put him, the vizier and their whole company under arrest. He quartered them in his own tent with the womenfolk of Muttaqi. The world was thrilled. Tuzun proceeded to blind Muttaqi;

¹ He was last heard of as with Tuzun, p. 61.

according to Thabit he blinded him in the presence of Mustakfi's Stewardess. The next day Tuzun descended the river with the whole party under arrest. The vizierate of Abu'l-Husain Ibn Muqlah had lasted a year, five months, and twelve days.

Account of the reason for the arrest of Muttaqi and the accession of Mustakfi.

THABIT narrates: I was told by ABU'L-'ABBAS TAMIMI of Rayy, steward of Tuzun, who was (73) high in his favour and had great influence with him, the following story. I, he said, was the cause of what happened to Muttaqi. One day meeting IBRAHIM B. RABANBADH the Dailemite, I was asked by him to come to a party of his. Having solicited and obtained Tuzun's permission, I went. He was residing in the palace of Qarariti which overlooked the Tigris. I found it newly furnished and decorated, and asked the reason, suggesting that he had been taking a wife. He replied: I will tell you about myself. I solicited the hand of a woman and in order to impress them pretended to stand high in the favour of the Emir. The lady then said: If you are so situated, what say you to negotiating a transaction which will be for the Emir's benefit, your own benefit, and the benefit of the Moslems?—I replied that I was willing.—She then said: This Caliph (meaning Muttaqi) has been at open war with you, and there is no chance of his ever becoming your sincere friend to the end of time. He has done his best to ruin you, though he has not succeeded; at one time he tries the Hamdanids, another time the Buwaihids.¹ Now here there is a descendant of the Caliphs, with learning, intellectual ability, piety, and valour—she described these in glowing colours:—make him Caliph and depose Muttaqi, and the new Caliph will unearth for you vast treasures of whose

¹ The text perhaps does not imply that Muttaqi had already tried the Buwaihids.

existence he only knows and to which he only has access. On the one hand then you will have released yourselves from an enemy whom you have to guard and guard against, whom you fear no less than he fears you, and on the other have appointed a man selected by yourselves who will see that you are his benefactors, and that his existence is bound up with yours.—She talked at length in this strain. What she said took my fancy and I kept revolving it in my mind. I was aware that my rank did not warrant my broaching such a subject or acting as intermediary therein ; yet I did not like to acknowledge to her that I had lied when I laid claim to rank and influence and so encouraged her to speak. I felt that this scheme could only be carried out by you, and that no-one but you could start it. So I have let you into the secret and what steps do you propose to take?—I replied that I should like to hear the lady herself on the matter.

So he brought the lady to me ; she was a native of Shiraz who spoke both Arabic and Persian ; strong-minded, astute, (74) and intellectual. She said to me much the same as she had said to her suitor. I told her that I must interview the man she described and hear what he had to say. She bade me return the next day to the same place, when she would arrange an interview. So the next day I went there again, and found that the personage had been got out of Ibn Tahir's palace¹ in woman's attire and had been introduced into Ibn Rabanbadh's residence. He informed me that he was 'ABDALLAH son of MUKTAFI.² In his statement he showed himself to be a man of prudence and intelligence. I found besides that he was in sympathy with the Shi'ah,³ and he gave me the impression of being a man of the world. He promised me that he would produce 600,000

¹ Where members of the imperial family were housed.

² Predecessor of Muqtadir, ob. 295.

³ The same was the case with his grandfather Mu'tadid, see Tabari iii. 2164,

dinars to keep the business of the state going, and 200,000 as a present for the Emir Tuzun. I am, he said, a poor man, but I am acquainted with sources of revenue known to no-one else, and of treasure belonging to the Caliphs which is lodged with persons known only to me. He insisted that these sources were of indubitable genuineness, and that no-one but himself had access to them.—When I had heard this and was convinced of its accuracy I went off to Tuzun; thinking however that I should not get through the business by myself, as I happened to meet on my way upstream to Tuzun ABU 'IMRAN MUSA B. SULAIMAN who was in the *hudaïdi* at Tuzun's gate, I took him by the hand and we went where we should be undisturbed. After soliciting and obtaining an oath of secrecy with regard to what I was about to divulge, I told him the whole story and requested his aid in carrying out the scheme.—He said: This is a big affair in which I will take no part.—When I found myself unable to move him, I requested him to refrain from opposing me; and to this he agreed. I then presented myself to Tuzun, and taking him into a private apartment asked him to swear by the Qur'an and in various solemn formulae that he would keep secret what I was going to communicate to him. When he had taken the oath I told him the tale from beginning to end, and it impressed him: finally he said: Quite right, only I should like to see the personage and hear what he says.—I said: I undertake that you shall; only if you wish this scheme to succeed do not let Ibn Shirzad into the secret; for he will discourage and dissuade you.—He agreed.—Ibn Shirzad (75) came to know that I had privately interviewed the Emir, and suspected me of slandering him.

I now went to the people and promised that the Emir would come to see the personage, and that the meeting should take place in the residence of Musa b. Sulaiman. We had the Tigris carefully patrolled at night, and on the night of Sunday 14 Safar (Oct. 6, 944) 'Abdallah

son of Muktafi came to the house of Musa b. Sulaiman, where he was met by Tuzun, who spoke to him and did homage to him as Caliph that night. We kept the matter dark; but when Muttaqi came from Raqqah, and was met and saluted by Tuzun, I said to the latter: Is your resolve to do what we agreed on unshaken?—He said: Yes.¹—I said: Then do it at once, for if he enters his Palace, it will be hard for you to get at him.—So Tuzun arrested the Caliph, and the rest followed.

The woman who negotiated this affair was called *HUSN* of Shiraz, and was mother-in-law of *ABU AHMAD AL-FADL B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN* of Shiraz; she became Mustakfi's Stewardess and was all powerful at his court.

¹ The particle used is incorrect, but this may be in order to reproduce what Tuzun said.

CHAPTER V.

CALIPHATE OF AL-MUSTAKFI BILLAH. ¹

(76) *Account of the expedition of the Prince Ahmad b. Buwaihi to the Diyala.*

Prior to the accession of Mustakfi the Prince Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi (77) advanced to Wasit at the time when Tuzun departed for Mausil. When Tuzun after making peace with Ibn Hamdan returned to the capital, he bethought him of going down stream to expel Ahmad b. Buwaihi. He started in Dhu'l-Qa'dah of the year 332 (began June 25, 944), but presently received intelligence that Ahmad b. Buwaihi had arrived at Sib Bani Kuma²; there he was met by Tuzun's host, and an engagement ensued which lasted nine days at Humaid's Arches,³ which went daily against Tuzun, who was forced back while the Prince Ahmad b. Buwaihi advanced. Ultimately Tuzun reached the Diyala, which he crossed to the Baghdad side. He then cut the bridge that was over it, and made a stand. Ahmad b. Buwaihi advanced to the opposite side, and the armies were separated by the water. On Sunday 4 Dhu'l-Hijjah (July 28, 944) the Prince Ahmad b. Buwaihi withdrew and returned to Ahwaz.

Account of the reason for his withdrawal after his victory. and defeat of Tuzun.⁴

The Prince Ahmad b. Buwaihi had with him a great quantity of baggage, numerous horses and a vast number

¹ This heading is omitted by the author or by his copyist. He does not even state that the son of Muktafi took this title.

² Mentioned in the narrative of Tabari, iii. 1898; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 36, says it was on the E. bank of the Tigris, three leagues above Dair al-'Aqul.

³ According to Ibn Rustah, p. 186, this was the name for a bridge over the Shatt Dijlah (an arm of the Tigris?) between Sib Bani Kuma and Mada'in opposite Tairistan on the W. bank.

⁴ This story has already been told, see p. 50.

of camels. It was his custom on the march to place his baggage between himself and the Tigris. He had a tent which was pitched after a fashion of theirs¹; so long as it was erect the battle was going on; striking it was a sign of rout. The day he marched to the Diyala his baggage-train moved along the Diyala, and though he tried hard to arrest it, he failed to do so. He wished to pitch his tent according to custom; but as the Dailemites were at a distance, and there was a vacant space between them and their baggage, Tuzun's followers and Arabs got between and attacked the baggage-train which was left undefended. Ahmad b. Buwaihi was therefore compelled to withdraw, and his retreat became a rout. The Dailemites, being infantry, were compelled to surrender to Tuzun, and most of them did so. The Prince took the route of Badaraya and Bakusaya to Ahwaz. His provisions had run so (78) short that on the night before his withdrawal he was compelled to slaughter fifty of his camels and distribute their flesh among his officers and troops; some oxen which he had slaughtered were taken, and his goods were pillaged on a vast scale during his flight. Seventeen of his chief officers were captured, including the son of the 'Alid *Da'i*²; Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah³ was taken prisoner and more than a thousand Dailemites surrendered. Tuzun remained in the place, having had on the day of Ahmad b. Buwaihi's flight another stroke which rendered pursuit impossible. He then returned to his palace.

We now return to complete the story of Mustakfi's accession. He appointed as his vizier ABU'L-FARAJ MOHAMMED B. 'ALI SAMARRI, who was vizier only in name; the real manager of affairs was Abu Ja'far Ibn

¹ Doubtless the Dailemites.

² For the persons who had this title see Browne's Index to Ibn Isfandiyar, p. 298. The son here mentioned is identified with Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed b. Hasan b. Qasim, who took the title Mahdi and was recognised by the Zaidis from 358 to 360 A.H.

³ He was last heard of, p. 26, as in the power of Abu'l-Hasain Baridi,

Shirzad. On Tuzun there were bestowed a robe of honour and a collar, and there was set upon his head a crown studded with gems. He took his seat on a throne in the presence of Mustakfi, and went to his house in his robes, crown, collar and bracelet. Mustakfi made strenuous search for al-Fadl son of Muqtadir, who went into hiding; Mustakfi ordered his house to be razed to the ground. Al-Fadl remained in hiding the whole of Mustakfi's reign.

Story of Abu'l-Husain Baridi's arrival in Baghdad as a suppliant for Tuzun's protection, and of his ultimate execution.

We have chronicled his career up to the time of his starting for Baghdad,¹ when he reached the capital, had an audience of Tuzun, and was lodged by Ibn Shirzad near his own residence in the residence of Tazad, which is in Qasr (79) Faraj² on the bank of the Tigris. Presently Abu'l-Husain began to solicit Tuzun's help in reconquering Basrah, promising irresistible amounts of money in the event of his succeeding. Tuzun coveted the money and put him off with promises. He asked to be presented to Mustakfi and was admitted by the Caliph accompanied by Tuzun and Ibn Shirzad; Mustakfi presented him with a robe of reconciliation, and he departed to his quarters. His nephew Abu'l-Qasim, hearing that he was intriguing for the possession of Basrah, sent agents to arrange matters with Tuzun and Ibn Shirzad, and transmitted a sum of money. He was confirmed in his government and robes of honour were sent back to him. When his uncle Abu'l-Husain learned of this, he despaired of his project, though Tuzun did not cease encouraging him.

Account of the death of Abu'l-Husain Baridi.

When Abu'l-Husain abandoned hope of obtaining assistance for the recovery of Basrah, he intrigued to be

¹ Above, p. 61.

² See below, p. 182.

made secretary to Tuzun and to get Ibn Shirzad arrested. Ibn Shirzad, ascertaining this, broke off relations with Abu'l-Husain and with Tuzun, and kept to his house for some days. Tuzun sent message after message to him endeavouring to conciliate him; finally Ibn Shirzad sailed to Tuzun and started a counterplot. So on Saturday 6 Dhu'l-Hijjah (July 20, 945) Tuzun's steward Abu'l-'Abbas Tamimi and his chamberlain SAFI were sent to the quarters of Abu'l-Husain Baridi to arrest him; he was taken downstream to the house of Safi, where he was severely scourged on the Sunday night; he was then fettered and brought down to the Palace where Ibn Shirzad delivered a terrible tirade against him, enumerating his faults and recording his evil deeds. In the days of Nasir al-daulah Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed Ibn Abi Musa Hashimi had obtained the legal opinion of the jurists and judges declaring his life to be forfeit. He now produced that opinion. A week after his arrest the jurists and judges were summoned to an assembly at which Abu'l-Husain was produced, in the presence of Mustakfi; the sword and mat were brought, and the executioner stood holding the sword in his hand. Ibn Abi Musa Hashimi was introduced (80), and standing up read the sentence of outlawry pronounced upon him by person after person in the presence of witnesses. As he read aloud each person's sentence he asked that person whether it was his; and he got to the end of the list without a single repudiation. All this was done within sight and hearing of Abu'l-Husain Baridi, whose head was bound, and in front of whom was the executioner with a drawn sword in his hand. When the judges and jurists had certified the sentence, Mustakfi ordered him to be beheaded; and the order was executed without Abu'l-Husain making any defence or reply or uttering a sound. His head was then taken and paraded on both sides of the Tigris, and then brought back to the Palace. The trunk was impaled at the spot where his *hudaidi* was

tied when he occupied the Palace,¹ and remained there some days. I have read a bill upon the collector for nine dirhems spent on reed-matting and naptha used for burning the trunk, which was done in the middle of Dhu'l-Hijjah.²

The vizier Abu'l-Faraj Samarri was arrested and fined 300,000 dirhems ; the time during which he had been titular vizier was forty-two days.

In this year Mustakfi demanded that Qahir should leave the Palace³ and return to Ibn Tahir's palace,⁴ but he declined ; Abu Ahmad al-Fadl b. 'Abd al-Rahman, at that time Mustakfi's private secretary, requested him to do this,⁵ and addressed Qahir courteously, promising (81) to lodge him in his own house and not take him back to Ibn Tahir's palace. ABU AHMAD narrated as follows : When I said that to him, he assented, after asking me on which side my residence was situated. On the East, I replied, in the Suq Yahya quarter.⁶ This satisfied him, and he made no further objection. I then led him down to my barge after changing his attire, for I found him wrapped in cotton with a *jubbah* underneath, and a wooden sandal of square shape on his foot. When he got into the barge I brought him past the front of my house, and then signalled to the boatmen without uttering a word ; when the bows were being pointed to cross, he felt it, and said : Ah, here you are taking me across to Ibn Tahir's palace. He wanted to throw himself into the water, only I told my slaves to hold him, which they did, until I had got him up to his apartment in the palace of Ibn Tahir. There he abode for a time, till one Friday he got

¹ See above, p. 25.

² A similar story is told of the Barmecide Ja'far b. Yahya, where this bill is contrasted with one of 400,000 gold pieces (?) for a robe of honour to the same person a short time before. *Fakhri* transl. Amar, p. 361.

³ See above, ii. 25.

⁴ See i. 193.

⁵ Perhaps the author rather meant that Mustakfi asked his secretary to arrange the matter ; in that case the text should be altered.

⁶ See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 199.

out and started soliciting alms in the public Mosque in Mansur's City. He was seen by Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Abi Musa Hashimi who bade him desist, gave him 500 dirhems and took him home.

This year there came the news that certain people called Russians, who dwelt behind the Khazars, had invaded Adharbaijan and seized Bardha'ah. They are a people without religion, who only seek dominion. They know not defeat, and their arms resemble those of the Dailemites. They are of great strength and vast frames. Presently the Moslems overwhelmed them and few remained. Marzuban b. Mohammed b. Musafir did good service, taking great trouble in this matter, which we have already narrated in its place.¹

YEAR 334.

In Muharram of this year (began Aug. 13, 945) Tuzun died in his palace in Baghdad, after an Emirate of two years, four months, and seventeen days; during two years and sixteen days of which Ibn Shirzad had been his secretary. The news of Tuzun's death reached Ibn Shirzad in Hit,—whither he had gone (82) in order to call to account ABU'L-MURAJJA IBN QIYAN² for the revenue which he farmed, and which he had been holding back, as he aspired at independent possession of the province; the army was at first thrown into disorder, but presently they agreed to appoint Ibn Shirzad as chief. His own idea had been to appoint Nasir al-daulah. He went down stream and when he reached the Harb Gate encamped there. This was at the commencement of Safar (Sept. 12, 945). Thither the Turks and Dailemites came out to him, and Mustakfi sent him white robes of honour and food for a number of days.

¹ Above, pp. 62-67.

² This name seems to be corrupt. The man's name in another account is given as 'Amr b. Kulthum.'

On Friday 2 Safar¹ the whole army agreed to make him chief, and swore allegiance to him. He received their homage to himself, and fragrant herbs were presented to him by them in Persian style. Ibn Shirzad then sent a messenger to Mustakfi with the request that he would swear an oath of fidelity on which he could rely in the presence of the judges and Witnesses; and this was done by Mustakfi. Ibn Shirzad next requested him to repeat this oath in the presence of the captains of the Turks and Dailemites; Mustakfi made difficulties, but finally did so. Ibn Shirzad now left his (83) camp and made a ceremonial entry on horseback into the Palace, where he was received by Mustakfi, and whence he departed with honours.

Ibn Shirzad proceeded to increase the pay of the Turks and Dailemites considerably, thereby producing financial stress. He sent to Nasir al-daulah to demand the transmission of revenue, holding out hopes that the Emirate might be restored to him. Nasir al-daulah sent meal and cheques to the value of 500,000 dirhems, which were of little consequence in view of the financial straits. Ibn Shirzad therefore abandoned his intention of making Nasir al-daulah Emir and retained the post himself. He appointed the qadi ABU'L-SA'IB ('Utbah b. 'Ubaidallah) judge in Mansur's City, and made various other judicial appointments in the districts of Baghdad. He also commenced the infliction of fines, imposing quotas on the Clerks, Finance officials, merchants and other orders in Baghdad for the pay of the army. Informers brought intelligence about persons who had stores of wheat or other goods for the use of their families, and their houses were then raided and these stores seized. Two informers, known as Harut and Marut,² made it their business to

¹ A Saturday according to Wüstenfeld.

² Surah ii. 101 (Sale's translation): "Men learned from those two angels at Babel a charm by which they might cause division between a man and his wife."

delate such persons as well as all who were conspicuous for fortune, being admitted to Ibn Shirzad in the morning and when he was alone, and likewise going to Mustakfi's Palace. These men were the cause of serious trouble to the citizens, as likewise were the imposts, which were so heavy that the traders fled from Baghdad ; so the result of these measures was general ruin and increase of the financial stress. (84) It became necessary to fine IBN 'ABD AL-'AZIZ HASHIMI¹ and his brothers. Burglaries became frequent, and when the government caught a burglar he was lynched before he could be brought to the magistrate.

Ibn Shirzad appointed YANAL KUSHAH minister of public security in Wasit and Fath Lashkari² to the same in Takrit. The latter did indeed start for his province, but when he had reached it he extended his journey to Mausil, where he was honourably received by Nasir al-daulah, who appointed him *his* minister in Takrit, sending him back thither. Yanal Kushah entered into correspondence with the Prince Ahmad b. Buwaihi.

Ibn Shirzad sent TAKIN SHIRZADI on an expedition to the Jabal, but he was defeated by the followers of Abu 'Ali Ibn Muhtaj, and returned to Baghdad.

Account of the expedition of Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi to Baghdad.

News came that Yanal Kushah had entered the service of the Prince Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi, and that the Prince had started from Ahwaz in the direction of the Capital. The Turks and Dailemites there were alarmed, brought their tents to the Oratory, and encamped there ; Ibn Shirzad encamped with them. Presently intelligence arrived that the Prince had stopped at Bajisra, and this increased the excitement in

¹ The fining of a member of the holy family would be a desperate expedient.

² See i. 402.

Baghdad. Ibn Shirzad and Mustakfi both went into hiding, the Emirate of the former having lasted three months and twenty days. When the Turks ascertained that they had gone into hiding, they crossed to the Western bank and marched to Mausil. After their departure Mustakfi emerged and returned to the Palace.

ABU MOHAMMED *HASAN* B. MOHAMMED MUHALLABI,¹ who was now in the following of (85) *Ahmad* b. Buwaihi, now arrived and interviewed Ibn Shirzad in his concealment. After a conversation with him Muhallabi proceeded down stream to the Palace, where he had an audience of Mustakfi, who professed to be delighted at the arrival of the Prince *Ahmad* b. Buwaihi, and assured him that he had only hidden from the Turks in order that their power might be dissolved and that the Prince might install himself without trouble. On Saturday 11 Jumada ii (Jan. 17, 946) the Prince *Ahmad* b. Buwaihi encamped at the Shammasiyyah Gate; he was received by Mustakfi, before whom he stood for a long time; he made a declaration of loyalty to the Caliph and let himself be bound by solemn oaths, and among the things to which he swore was preservation of the lives of Mustakfi's secretary Abu *Ahmad* al-Fadl b. 'Abd al-Rahman of Shiraz, the Stewardess 'Alam, Abu 'Abdallah son of Umm Musa, the qadi Abu'l-Sa'ib, and the Chamberlain Abu'l-'Abbas *Ahmad* b. Khaqan. The oaths of Mustakfi and of the Prince *Ahmad* b. Buwaihi were attested. When the ceremony of swearing was over, the Prince begged of Mustakfi that he would pardon Ibn Shirzad and asked permission to make him his secretary. Mustakfi granted him an amnesty and gave the permission that had been asked. Then the Prince put on the robes of office and was addressed by his *kunyah*; he received the title MU'IZZ AL-DAULAH, his brother

¹ He was last heard of in the employment of 'Ali b. Ja'far, p. 84; this person shortly after retired into private life, p. 85, when it may be supposed that Muhallabi entered *Ahmad* b. Buwaihi's service.

Abu'l-Hasan 'ALI 'IMAD AL-DAULAH, and his brother Abu 'Ali Hasan RUKN AL-DAULAH.¹ Orders were issued that their titles and *kunyahs* should be struck on the dinars and dirhems. He departed in his robes to the palace of Mu'nis, while the Dailemites, Jilites and Turks billeted themselves on the citizens. This caused serious annoyance, but became a practice to which they have to submit to this day.

Account of Ibn Shirzad's secretaryship to Mu'izz al-daulah.

Ibn Shirzad emerged from his hiding place and was received by Mu'izz al-daulah, for whom he undertook the management of the *kharaj* and the collection of the revenue. The Emir arrested ABU 'ABDALLAH HUSAIN B. 'ALI B. MUQLAH,² owing to the receipt of a letter from him applying for Ibn Shirzad's place.

(86) *Account of the arrest of Mustakfi by Mu'izz al-daulah.*

The ostensible cause was that the Stewardess 'ALAM gave a great banquet at which a number of Dailemite commanders were present, and was suspected by the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah of doing this for the purpose of getting their promises of allegiance to Mustakfi, and of rejecting the authority of Mu'izz al-daulah in lieu of whom they were to obey the Caliph. The Prince conceived alarm thereat and at what he had seen of her courage and readiness to upset thrones. Presently Mustakfi arrested Shafi'i, the chief of the Shi'ah, at the Taq Gate, and the intercession of Ispahdost in his favour was rejected by the Caliph. Vexed thereby Ispahdost went and informed Mu'izz al-daulah that the Caliph had sent a message to him (Ispahdost) to meet the Caliph disguised in boots and a cloak.³ The result of this and

¹ These names mean respectively "Strengthener, Pillar, and Column of the Empire."

² Son of the caligrapher. See below ii. 96, when he ultimately obtains the appointment.

³ Probably this means the guise of a civilian.

certain other matters that never came to light was that Mu'izz al-daulah decided to depose Mustakfi from the Caliphate. On Thursday —8 Jumada ii (Jan. 29, 946) the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah descended to the Palace, as did the others according to custom. When Mustakfi sat upon his throne and the people stood according to their rank, ABU JA'FAR SAIMARI and Ibn Shirzad entered and stationed themselves according to their rank. Then the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah entered and kissed the ground according to custom ; he then kissed Mustakfi's hand and stood before him conversing with him. He then seated himself on a chair and gave permission for the introduction of an envoy who had come from Khorasan and another who had come from Abu'l-Qasim Baridi. Two Dailemites then advanced and stretched out their hands to Mustakfi, talking loud in Persian ; the Caliph supposing that they desired to kiss his hand stretched it out towards them. They pulled him by it, brought him to the ground, placed his turban on his neck and proceeded to drag him. Mu'izz al-daulah now rose ; there was general confusion, and shouts were raised. The Dailemites arrested Abu Ahmad of Shiraz and Ibn Abi Musa Hashimi, and entering the women's apartments arrested the Stewardess and her daughter ; the people hurried to the veranda (87) gate, and there was a great crush and much pillaging of property.

The two Dailemites dragged Mustakfi on foot to the palace of Mu'izz al-daulah, where he was confined. The Palace was plundered till nothing remained there. Thus ended the days of Mustakfi's Caliphate.

Mu'izz al-daulah then summoned ABU'L-QASIM AL-FADL son of Muqtadir to the Palace on Thursday —8 Jumada ii, 334 (Jan. 29, 946) ; he received the title Caliph, and homage was paid him. He took the name AL-MUTI' LILLAH (the Obedient to God).

CHAPTER VI.

ACCOUNT OF THE CALIPHATE OF MUTI' AND THE EXPERIENCES THROUGH WHICH HE PASSED.

Ibn Shirzad, without taking the title vizier, acted as his vizier in the administration of affairs and provincial appointments, and chose as the Caliph's private secretary and as his deputy ABU'L-HASAN TAZAD B. 'ISA. Muti appointed as his chamberlain Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn. Khaqan. The Prince Mu'izz al-daulah assigned him 2,000 dirhems a day for his personal expenses. The provinces were notified of his accession to the Caliphate.

(88) Peace was concluded between Mu'izz al-daulah and Abu'l-Qasim Baridi, who was put in possession of Wasit where he farmed the arrears for 1,600,000 dirhems. He appointed to represent him at the capital ABU'L-QASIM 'ISA B. 'ALI B. 'ISA.

Mu'izz al-daulah demanded a hostage of Ibn Shirzad, having ascertained that he had difficulty in providing revenue and fearing that he might abscond. Ibn Shirzad was perplexed, and requested the Prince to lend him some money to keep things going. The Prince offered him some gold and silver boats on condition that they should be replaced. Ibn Shirzad accepted these and handed over his brother Abu'l-Hasan Zakariyya as hostage.

The Prince Mu'izz al-daulah had been told of the competence and enterprise of ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM; he in consequence summoned him to his court, treated him with kindness and distinction, and committed to his care the ravaged estates in the Sawad which he charged him to bring into cultivation. THABIT narrates: I was informed by Abu'l-FARAJ that he said to Mu'izz al-daulah: Prince, you insisted on having

Ibn Shirzad as your secretary, and repeatedly applied to the Caliph Mustakfi before he gave his permission for him to be so employed. This cannot have been due to appreciation of his professional skill, for he was not qualified either as a despatch-writer or as a clerk of *kharaj*; he once only was in charge of the Bureau of expenditure, and was secretary to Harun b. Gharib.¹ He was a man of mediocre ability, and the Clerks of the capital and heads of bureaux did not regard him as an expert or a professional. (89) Mu'izz al-daulah replied: What you say is true, for every one whom I consulted about him said the same as you. When I saw his beard, I said: This man is better fitted to be a draper than a clerk.² Still I found that he had been Emir in Baghdad, and dominated the Caliph, so that he was equal to me and the provincial sovereigns, and was regarded by the troops as a person fit to command them and receive their homage. I wished therefore to degrade him from that height and make him clerk to one of my slaves or finance minister of a town.

On Friday —9 Rajab (Jan. 27, 946) the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah sent Musa Fayadhah and Yanal Kushah to 'Ukbara, being the advance force of an expedition to Mausil; when they had started, Yanal Kushah and Ibn al-Barid assaulted Musa Fayadhah, and seizing his baggage, deserted to Nasir al-daulah.

On Monday 9 Sha'ban (March 16, 946) Ibn Shirzad went into hiding, abandoning his brother Abu'l-Hasan Zakariyya.

On —4 Sha'ban (April 2, 946) Nasir al-daulah accompanied by the Turks³ arrived at Samarra, and war commenced between him and the followers of Mu'izz al-daulah

¹ See i. 163, and 325, where the Expenditure is explained as that on the Turks.

² Qalqashandi i. 40 insists on the care which the "clerk" should expend on his person, and this is probably the subject of the allusion here.

³ Who had been in Tuzun's service, p. 84.

at 'Ukbara. On Thursday 4 *Ramadan* (March 11, 946) Mu'izz al-daulah, accompanied by the Caliph Muti', moved to 'Ukbara; Ibn Shirzad emerged from his hiding place, and went to meet ABU'L-'ATTAF JUBAIR B. 'ABDALLAH B. *HAMDAN*, brother of Nasir al-daulah, who had come to Baghdad and stationed himself at the Qutrabull Gate. He was joined there by Ibn Shirzad, Lu'lu', and a number of Persians. Jubair was welcomed by the citizens of Baghdad, and Ibn Shirzad administered affairs in the name of Nasir al-daulah, while the war continued between Mu'izz al-daulah and Nasir al-daulah in Samarra and the neighbourhood.

On Wednesday 10 *Ramadan* (April 15, 946) Nasir al-daulah arrived in Baghdad, (90) and took up his quarters on the Western bank below Qutrabull, after burning his own and his followers' stores, because the boats on which they were were being taken by the Dailemites. He had left ABU 'ABDALLAH *HUSAIN* B. *HAMDAN*¹ to command in the field. Presently the Dailemite followers of Mu'izz al-daulah crossed the Tigris at Samarra from the Eastern to the Western bank, and marching to Takrit, plundered it; then a party of them proceeded to Samarra and plundered that place; they then crossed in a body with Mu'izz al-daulah, accompanied by the Caliph, to the Western bank of the² Tigris, and proceeded downstream to Baghdad, whilst *Husain* b. Sa'id and the Turks faced them on the Eastern bank. When Mu'izz al-daulah crossed to the Western bank, Nasir al-daulah crossed to the Eastern and took up his quarters in Raqqah of the *Shammasiyyah*, where he effected a junction with the Turks. Nasir al-daulah made no mention whatever of Muti' in public prayer either by his name or his *kunyah*. On Sunday —2 *Ramadan* (May 4, 946) *Husain* b. Sa'id inflicted a defeat

¹ *i.e.*, the son of Sa'id, who had been recalled from Adharbaijan, above, ii.

65.

² The obscurity is in the original. Samarra is on the E. bank,

on the army of Mu'izz al-daulah in the water, drowning many of the troops, and getting possession of their craft.

On Thursday 2 Shawwal (May 7, 946) Nasir al-daulah despatched fifty of the Dailemite troops in his service to the Western bank of Baghdad as part of the force which he was taking across to fight Mu'izz al-daulah. When they came to the Trench in the *Qati'at Umm Ja'far*,¹ and talked to the Dailemites in the service of Mu'izz al-daulah, the former persuaded the other troops in Nasir al-daulah's army, that a number of Mu'izz al-daulah's Dailemites wished to cross the Trench in order to desert to Nasir al-daulah. Hence they allowed these Dailemites a passage. But when they had crossed the Trench they turned their shields against Nasir al-daulah's army, and attacked it with such fierceness that the whole of Nasir al-daulah's force took to flight. Nasir al-daulah's *Qarmatian* allies, Takin (91) Shirzadi,² and other officers of his were surrounding the army of Mu'izz al-daulah on the Western bank, so that Mu'izz al-daulah could obtain no forage or other supply; the inhabitants of the Western side suffered greatly from dearness and want of food. Abu Ja'far Saimari, being himself occupied with the management of the war, had committed to Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Harun the personal attendance on Mu'izz al-daulah and provision of the requirements of himself, his staff and his household. This Hasan b. Harun told me that he purchased a *kurr*³ of white flour for the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah at a cost of 20,000 dirhems. The inhabitants could not cross from one side of the city to the other, as Nasir al-daulah prevented it. The cultivators on both sides of the river suffered serious injury owing to their produce being seized by the troops, who reaped and threshed it and carried it to their camp.

¹ *I.e.* the Trench of Tahir in the Zubaidiyyah Fief, Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 110.

² A commander of Turks, see above, ii. 50.

³ = 34 Damascene *karah*: a *karah* = 50 *ratl*, 2 *karah* = 1 qintar. Probably about 1,700 pounds.

On the Eastern side bread was sold at five *ratls* for a dirhem, as barges brought flour from Mausil. But prices remained high on the Western side after the crops had ripened, for the reason that has been mentioned. Here one *ratl* of bread cost a dirhem and a quarter, when it could be got. This was because Nasir al-daulah prevented the imports from Mausil coming to the Western side, and his Arabs were spread abroad on that side to intercept the produce which might reach Mu'izz al-daulah.

Nasir al-daulah struck dinars and dirhems from dies of the year 331 bearing the names of Muttaqi, Nasir al-daulah, and Saif al-daulah.

Ibn Shirzad invoked the aid of the populace and the bandits of Baghdad in fighting Mu'izz al-daulah and the Dailemites, and enlisted some of them. Each day he would sail accompanied by a (92) number of *zabzabs* containing Turks; sailing down and up the Tigris he would shoot arrows at the Dailemites on the Western bank. Nasir al-daulah had sent Safi Tuzuni across with a thousand men to surprise Mu'izz al-daulah and his camp; he was met and routed by Ispahdost and Saimari. Ja'far b. Warqa, who was with them, used to say: I had heard of one man being equal to a thousand, but never believed it till I saw Ispahdost charge and rout Safi with his troop; then I believed it.

Mu'izz al-daulah built over fifty *zabzabs* in the Qati'at Umm Ja'far, and on Wednesday —3 Dhu'l-Hijjah (July 1, 946) these were launched on the Tigris. In these the retainers of Mu'izz al-daulah fought the followers of Nasir al-daulah who were in his *zabzabs*. Abu Ja'far Saimari narrated how when they were hard pressed and, expedients failing them, they were in serious difficulty, Mu'izz al-daulah made up his mind to depart to Ahwaz, and packed his baggage; he then said: Look out on the route for a means of crossing; if we can manage it, well and good: otherwise we will turn our faces towards

Ahwaz.—Saimari and Ispahdost with nine men succeeded in crossing to the island which faces Mukharrim¹ on Saturday the last day of Dhu'l-Hijjah (Aug. 1, 946), and wished to cross thence to the Eastern side. Yanal Kushah offered only a feeble resistance, so that they succeeded in getting across, and were followed by their comrades.

Account of the expedient whereby they succeeded in crossing.

Mu'izz al-daulah had prepared these bridges on the Sarat, and afterwards brought them down by night to the place of the Tabbanin,² that being the narrowest point on the Tigris. He instructed his vizier (93) Saimari, Ispahdost, and his favourite Dailemites to cross, while making it appear that he intended to cross above Qutrabull. At the appointed time of night he started with trumpet blast and torchlights, some of his bridges being carried over land with ropes. When the enemy saw this, the greater number moved in a parallel line to prevent him; and so Saimari and his followers got the opportunity to cross. Saimari was the first to risk his life in the attempt; his followers were afraid to cross, but when he led the way felt ashamed and followed. Mu'izz al-daulah now returned to this spot, and by that time his stratagem had been perceived by the enemy, who gathered in great numbers in their *zabzabs* to prevent his crossing, and sank two skiffs. The engagement became fierce, and the Turks were routed. Yanal Kushah had been drinking during the night; when a number of Dailemites had got to the Eastern bank, they shouted his name; he took to flight and departed with his party

¹ This island does not appear in Le Strange's maps.

² *i.e.* where (at one time) was the Tabbanin Bridge, on which see Le Strange, p. 124. This bridge according to Le Strange was not over the Tigris, but over a canal at some distance from the river here; and on his map it is much higher up the river than Mukharrim. The MS. appears to have *thamanin*, *i.e.* Eighty, but this name does not figure in the topography of Baghdad, and seems to be a corruption for the other.

to the Shammasiyyah Gate. The forces of Nasir al-daulah were now in disorder, and Ibn Shirzad sent word to Nasir al-daulah that the proper course for him was to ride and engage those Dailemites who had got across. His reply was that it commonly happened that when he rode his followers were routed. The proper course was for Ibn Shirzad to take the field. Ibn Shirzad accordingly mounted his horse, but found his troops riding over one another, and paying no attention to any one; he therefore took to flight with them. Nasir al-daulah joined the rout, and the Dailemites got possession of the Eastern bank, where they fired and pillaged the houses; many of the inhabitants were killed, and many men, women and children met their end in another way. Having during the civil war abused and assaulted the Dailemites they fled for fear of reprisals. Walking barefoot in the terrible heat in the direction of 'Ukbara, they died on the way. Mu'izz al-daulah according to (94) his usual practice was merciful, and ordered the swords to be sheathed and the pillaging to cease. The citizens were reassured and he was in undisputed possession of both banks. His prohibition of pillaging and proclamation that it should cease did not produce any cessation, nor had he any power to prevent it till Saimari mounted his horse, executed a number of pillagers, impaled some of the Dailemite retainers, and maintained continuous patrol and protection of the citizens himself; ultimately he was able to quiet the troops. The amount plundered was estimated at ten million dinars. For the places selected for attack had been the merchants' quarters and where money and goods were to be found.

Nasir al-daulah, Ibn Shirzad, and the Tuzuni Turks proceeded up the river to 'Ukbara; when they had re-established order there, Nasir al-daulah sent to Mu'izz al-daulah to sue for peace.¹ This was at the end of Muharram, 335 (began Aug. 2, 946). He took this step

¹ According to the Takmilah the messenger employed was Ibn Qarabah.

without knowledge of the Turks, who, when they learned of it, wanted to assault him, and planned to do so. When intelligence of this was brought to him, and he had ascertained its accuracy, he took to flight and leaving them hastened at full speed to Mausil.

Mu'izz wrote in the name of Muti' a despatch announcing the victory, which was sent to 'Imad al-daulah and to all the provinces.

A queer plot of a sort against which precautions should be taken.

A most queer and curious incident was the following. When Nasir al-daulah was at the Shammasiyyah Gate, facing the camp of Mu'izz al-daulah, a man came one night and entered his tent, when he was sleeping, unperceived by guards, chamberlains, doorkeepers or attendants, and proceeded to find out where he lay and saw him sleeping. Taking note of the part of the pillow where his head lay, the visitor went back to put out the lamp and a candle which were close by outside the tent, his intention being to return and plunge his knife into the place where Nasir al-daulah's throat was. It happened that Nasir al-daulah shifted from side to side in his sleep at the time when the man went back (95) to extinguish the candle. When he had done this and returned, the place was dark, and he thrust his knife into the place where he imagined Nasir al-daulah's throat to be, and had no doubt that it would lodge there. The knife however remained fixed in the pillow in lieu of Nasir al-daulah's head. The man, supposing that he had killed Nasir al-daulah departed from the tent unnoticed; Nasir al-daulah, waking, saw the knife; a hunt was made for the man, but he was not caught. The story was circulated, and Nasir al-daulah received congratulations on his escape. The man made his way to Mu'izz al-daulah with the good news that he had slain his enemy; but Mu'izz al-daulah asked for a circum-

stantial account of his proceeding, and when it was given him, said: A man like this is a public danger. He delivered him to Saimari to put him in confinement, and Saimari put him to death.¹

This year prices rose so high that people had absolutely no bread and ate the dead, or grass or any creature that had died a natural death or carrion. When a horse dropped dung a number of persons collected and searched the dung for barleycorns to pick out and eat. Cotton-seed would be taken, moistened with water and spread on an iron plate, which was then put on the fire till it was dry, and the seed was then eaten; this produced tumours in the intestines of which most of the eaters died, whereas the survivors looked like corpses. Men, women and children would stand on the highroad perishing of famine and crying *Hunger, hunger*, till they collapsed and died. If any one found a little bread he would hide it under his clothes, else it would be snatched from him. So many were the corpses that they could not be buried in time, and the dogs devoured their flesh. The poor migrated in vast numbers and continuous lines to Basrah to eat dates, and most of them perished on the road; those of them who reached the place died after a short time. A woman of the Hashim family was found who had stolen a child and baked him alive in an oven. She had partly eaten him and was seized eating the remainder; she was put to death. Houses and plots were sold (96) for loaves, some of the loaf being assigned to the broker as commission. Another woman was caught killing children and eating them, and the practice became common, so that many women were executed for this offence. When the civil war was over and the new crops came in prices fell.

¹ It is not clear why Tanukhi has omitted this story from his "Deliverance after stress."

When Ibn Shirzad went into hiding,¹ Abu Ja'far (Saimari) attended to the business which he had been managing, but presently Mu'izz al-daulah and Saimari appointed *HASAN B. 'ALI B. MUQLAH*² to discharge the duties which had been discharged by Ibn Shirzad, viz., appointing farmers of the *kharaj* and collecting revenue.

In this year the Dailemites mutinied against Mu'izz al-daulah violently, and indulged in fierce abuse and vituperation of him. He promised to remit their pay to them by a fixed term, and was compelled to oppress the citizens and extort money from improper sources. He assigned to his officers, his household and his Turks as fiefs the estates of the Sultan, the estates of the persons who had gone into hiding, *e.g.* those of Ibn Shirzad, and the rights of the Treasury on the estates of civilians.³ Thus most of the Sawad was locked up,⁴ and became inaccessible to revenue-officers, only a little being liable to taxation and farmed. Most of the bureaux therefore became superfluous and idle, as were the bureaux of control; and all the offices were united in one.

Account of the mischievous results of this policy, ruin of the country, corruption and disorganization of the army.

When administration is based on unsound principles, the fact though it may be at first concealed (97) manifests itself in course of time. It is as when a man diverges from the high road; a slight divergence may go unnoticed at the first, but if it continues he loses his direction, and the further he travels the further astray he is; and he becomes conscious of his error when it is too late to repair it. One such error committed by

¹ See p. 89.

² Son of the caligrapher, whose life is given in the *Irshad*. He was cashiered shortly afterwards.

³ These matters will be treated in the Introductory volume.

⁴ A technical phrase according to the *Mafatih* for immunity from land-tax.

Mu'izz al-daulah was that he allocated most of the districts of the Sawad in fief while they were out of cultivation and before they had returned to it, so that their value was reduced; in the next place the viziers were complaisant to the assignees, took bribes, in some cases receiving gratuities themselves, in others letting themselves be influenced by intermediaries. Thus the fiefs were assigned at variable rates. As the years passed, and the land came into cultivation, in some cases the amount due as tax rose owing to the increase in the produce, in others it was reduced owing to the fall in prices; ¹ for when these fiefs were assigned to the army prices were abnormally high owing to the famine which has been described. Those who made a profit retained the fiefs which they held, and it was not possible to exact full payment according to the assessments. Those who lost returned their fiefs and received others instead so as to make up their deficits. The evil increased ² till it became the practice for the soldiers to ruin their fiefs and take others of their own selection in exchange. Thus they succeeded in being always the gainers and pocketing a profit. The fiefs which were given back were bestowed on persons whose sole aim it was to appropriate all that they found there, and render an account only of part. They would take no steps to put them into cultivation. The assignees would then return to those fiefs which had got mixed together, and obtain fresh assignation of them on the basis of their present value when that value was reduced to the lowest possible figure. The original deeds rotted away ³ as the years passed, the old assessments became obsolete, the canals went to

¹ Apparently in some cases the *khavaḥ* was fixed in a quota of produce, in others of the price which the produce fetched.

² Literally "the rent widened"; the expression has been altered for fear of ambiguity in this context.

³ Literally "melted."

ruin, the sluices got out of order, misfortune fell on the cultivators, whose circumstances were wretched, some of them migrating and exiling themselves, others patiently enduring wrongs for which no redress could be obtained, while others were content to surrender their lands to the assignees in order to escape injury from them and satisfy them. Thus cultivation was at a standstill, the bureaux were closed, the arts of finance-clerk and (98) revenue farmer disappeared ; those who were skilled in them became extinct, and a generation arose which knew nothing of either. When any one of them undertook business of this sort, he proved himself a clumsy novice. The assignees did no more than put their lands under the control of their slaves and bailiffs, who kept no account of what passed through their hands, and devised no improvements nor methods of increasing the produce. They merely embezzled their masters' property by various forms of knavery. Their masters recouped themselves for their losses by fining their agents and iniquitous treatment of those with whom they had dealings. The officers of irrigation departed because the territory was no longer in the hands of the Sultan, and the business connected therewith was confined to the drawing up of estimates of what was required for the irrigation, which was then apportioned to the assignees, who however neglected the payment of their shares ; if they paid them, the money was embezzled and not expended on the purposes for which it was levied. The inspectors were indifferent to catastrophes, their principle being to "take the limpid and leave the turbid," and to have recourse to the government on which they could make new demands while handing back the fiefs which had gone to ruin in their possession. The administration of each district was committed to a powerful Dailemite favourite, who made thereof his residence and private estate ; these governors were surrounded by dishonest agents, whose aim and

object was to defer, to keep things going, and to put off from year to year. The lands not included in the fiefs were assigned to two classes of men to farm. One of these consisted of generals and other officers of the army, the other of civil functionaries¹ and men of business. The officers were anxious to amass wealth, pocket profits, lodge appeals, and demand abatements. If payment of tax were strictly demanded of them, they became enemies, bent on resistance, with ample means; they caused disintegration of the empire, and furnished rebels. If they were treated with leniency, their greed became all the fiercer and stopped at no limit. The civilians on the other hand displayed greater skill than the soldiers in making the government pay and greater ingenuity in enriching themselves at its expense. Further they made common cause in their operations, offered gratuities, and entrenched themselves in secret influence, whereas all people ought to be governed by the same rule. As the years passed, they became independent in their provinces, and were subject to no interference (99) in their dealings with others.² Among the latter the weaklings might be fined or their contributions altered and their benefits³ reduced in accordance with their quality and means, whereas the contributions of others who were able to defend themselves would be abated, for which purpose the assignee would take a secret profit from them. Such persons would be welcomed by the assignee as a help to him in times of stress, and when he was under government scrutiny, whilst he would have no mercy on the weaklings. It ceased to be the fashion to present any balance-sheet to the bureaux or issue any instructions to a finance-minister; to hear any complaint or to accept the suggestions of any clerk. In the scrutiny of the revenue-

¹ Literally "owners" (wearers) of *durra'ahs*.

² The reference would seem to be to the cultivators or to middlemen.

³ This appears to be the sense.

farmers the examiners limited themselves to mentioning the original terms of the contract, the amount realized and the amount in arrear, without inquiry into the treatment of the subject populations, and whether justice or injustice had been meted out to them, or notice being taken of precautions against putting land out of cultivation, measures for restoring waste lands to cultivation, taxes improperly collected, fines that were purely iniquitous, additions to the assessments according to no register, and items put down as expenditure which represented no reality. If any of the clerks called attention to any such point, if he was a man of importance he was "guaranteed"¹, dismissed, ruined and put to death, being sold by the Sultan for a trifling sum. If he were a poor and indigent individual, he would be pacified with a small sum and transfer his support to the opponent. He was not to be blamed, as the Sultan neither protected him when he was in fear, nor assisted him if he spoke.

This is a summary of the situation as regards the revenue. The expenditure on the other hand was multiplying, the business of the bureaux was at a standstill, and the offices of control were idle. To this there were added other matters which it would take long to explain, and of which one would lead on to another. I have therefore confined myself to indications in lieu of dilating.

Further Mu'izz al-daulah indulged his fancy in the matter of his retainers, to whom he was liberal in the matter of fiefs and increases, and whom he lavishly enriched and aggrandized. He was therefore unable to lay by anything for the evil day, or ever to show a surplus in his accounts. His expenses were continually on the increase and his resources diminishing till there was a deficit against him which he never confined within any

¹ *i.e.* some one would guarantee to extort so much from him, if put into the power of the former.

limit, but permitted to increase at an enormous rate. As the years passed this led to stoppage of the pay of the Dailemites, who became (100) envious of the more fortunately situated Turks. Necessity compelled him to attach the Turks more closely to himself, promote them higher and higher, and rely on their aid against the Dailemites. His favours being bestowed on the former while neglect befell the latter, disaffection resulted, and indeed with both; the Turks being stimulated by greed, whereas the Dailemites were goaded by want and poverty. They were on the look out for insurrections, which this procedure fomented, and wherein it brought about the occurrences which we hope to describe.

This year the Stewardess 'Alam was blinded, and her tongue was afterwards amputated.

This year intelligence arrived that Nuh, ruler of Khorasan, had arrested the brothers of Abu 'Ali Ibn Muhtaj and put some of them to death.

Account of the reason for this.

When Ibn Muhtaj was routed by Rukn al-daulah¹ after having promised the conquest of Rayy to the ruler of Khorasan, his master sent him reinforcements under a royal prince and a number of his equals and his officers. The ruler of Khorasan did his utmost to give Ibn Muhtaj an adequate force, and he started his expedition well supplied both with troops and provisions of war. Rukn al-daulah wrote to 'Imad al-daulah to solicit help; the latter ordered him to leave the way free for the troops of Khorasan, and join him, assuring him that this was part of a plan. Rukn al-daulah did as he was told, and the Khorasanites entered Rayy. 'Imad al-daulah sent a private message to the ruler of Khorasan, assuring him that Rayy had little value for himself, in consideration of the expense which the maintenance of an

¹ See above, p. 8, where however it is Hasan b. Fairuzan who defeats Ibn Muhtaj.

enormous army involved, and the perpetual friction between himself and the ruler of Khorasan ; he requested the latter to put an end to this friction by giving him the right to farm the revenues of Rayy and its dependencies for ten years for the sum agreed on between him and Ibn Muhtaj with an additional 100,000 dinars for each year, one year to be paid in advance. He asked him to send a confidential agent in whose presence the contract might be signed and through whom the money might be sent. 'Imad al-daulah undertook after this to help the ruler of Khorasan against Ibn Muhtaj till the latter was overcome. This communication reached (101) Nuh b. Nasr, who was unfavourably disposed towards Ibn Muhtaj, and who was anxious to secure the money. The counsellors whom he consulted, being all of them bitter enemies of Ibn Muhtaj, advised him to accept the offer made by 'Imad al-daulah. Nuh thereupon threw off the mask, arrested the brothers, family and dependents of Ibn Muhtaj, and killed some of them. To 'Imad al-daulah he despatched 'ALI B. MUSA called ZARRAR, one of his chief captains and courtiers, who performed the journey on *jammaz*¹ ; he was ceremonially met by 'Imad al-daulah, who loaded him with honours, and sent him gifts continually, but deferred dealing with the business whereon he had come. Meanwhile he sent a missive to Ibn Muhtaj that he ('Imad al-daulah) remained constant in his attachment and alliance with him, while warning him earnestly against the treachery of Nuh. Ibn Muhtaj thereupon sent a messenger to the uncle of Nuh, IBRAHIM B. AHMAD, who was at the time in Mausil, as an officer in Nasir al-daulah's employ,² to inform Ibrahim that he (Ibn Muhtaj) had appointed him sovereign, and obtained the declaration of allegiance to him from his (Ibn Muhtaj's) followers, as prince of Khorasan; only he must come

¹ A breed of camels supposed to be particularly strong and hardy.

² See above, p. 29.

with Ibn Muhtaj, so that they might together fight Nuh ; and he urged Ibrahim to make haste. Ibrahim was willing enough, so he asked permission of Nasir al-daulah, who replied : We are just about to start for Baghdad, so wait till we enter it, when the Caliph will invest you, give you a robe of honour from his Palace, and tie a banner for you ; this will add to your glory and strengthen your cause.—This was at the end of Mustakfi's reign ; Ibrahim b. Ahmad acted in accordance with Nasir al-daulah's desire, but when the time grew long, calamity overtook Mustakfi, and Nasir-al-daulah made his expedition to Baghdad, as messengers kept on arriving from Ibn Muhtaj, finally Ibrahim crossed *the river at Takrit* with seventy¹ retainers, and proceeded thence to Daquqa, whence he reached the Khorasan Road. Presently letters from him reached Nasir al-daulah, to the effect that he was starting for Nisabur with the view of fighting his nephew Nuh. Nasir al-daulah sent him the robes of honour which the Sultan bestows and a banner which he had tied for him in the name of the Caliph Muti'. The person employed to bring them was the blinded Khajkhaj,² which people regarded as an evil omen ; they divined that he would not succeed.

When Ibn Muhtaj heard that Ibrahim had started (102) he came to Hamadhan to meet him ; and swore to obey him loyally and serve him faithfully. Together they returned to Rayy, whence they started for Khorasan. Ibn Muhtaj now wrote to Rukn al-daulah to inform him of his expedition to Khorasan, and that he was evacuating Rayy. 'Imad al-daulah wrote to his brother Rukn al-daulah bidding him go to Rayy, which he hastened to do ; meanwhile Nuh's possession of Khorasan was threatened.

¹ Mirkhond makes them 90,000 !

² See above, p. 42.

Account of the successful intriguing of 'Imad al-daulah on this occasion.

When 'Imad al-daulah had finished making mischief between Ibn Muhtaj and his master, and the two were openly at war, he hastened to send Zarrar, the envoy of the ruler of Khorasan, back to Nuh with a message to the following effect: The treachery and evil designs which he had warned Nuh that Ibn Muhtaj harboured, had now come to light; when Ibn Muhtaj in company with Nuh's uncle Ibrahim had declared war against Nuh, he ('Imad al-daulah) had sent his brother Rukn al-daulah with his army in order that, if the hosts of Nuh b. Nasr went against his uncle and Ibn Muhtaj, and Nuh wanted Rukn al-daulah to attack his enemies in the rear, he might do so.—Nuh now proceeded towards Nisabur,¹ at the head of his armies containing all the officers and troops at his disposal. Battle was given him by Ibrahim and Ibn Muhtaj, who defeated and routed him, capturing IBRAHIM B. SIMJUR and MANSUR B. QARATAKIN, and a number of his officers. The bulk of his army capitulated, and Nuh himself retired discomfited and in a wretched state of weakness and bewilderment. He was pursued by Ibrahim and Ibn Muhtaj, who had with them the two captives named, and his flight continued till he reached Samarqand. Ibrahim b. Ahmad entered Bukhara and got possession of the stores and treasures that were there. This was in the year 335. Ibn Muhtaj now wrote to 'Imad al-daulah to communicate the joyful intelligence, and to ask him to obtain a new order from the Sultan for robes of honour to be given to Ibrahim, and investiture with the government of Khorasan.

¹ Mirkhond says he was in Merv.

(103) *Account of the outcome of the struggle between Ibrahim and Ibn Muhtaj against Nuh b. Nasr, and the causes which brought about the return of the latter to his throne and his capital in Khorasan.*

The cause of this was that Ibrahim gave ear to certain persons who were envious of Ibn Muhtaj, and suggested to him that the latter had merely been using him as an instrument in order to get control of the armies of Khorasan, and that when he had done with Nuh he would turn against him (Ibrahim), and treat him as he had treated Nuh. Ibrahim would do well therefore to be on his guard against Ibn Muhtaj.—This made an impression on Ibrahim's mind; without consulting Ibn Muhtaj he proceeded to release Ibn Simjur and Ibn Qaratakin, and bestow robes of honour upon them. This offended Ibn Muhtaj, who withdrew from Ibrahim. Ibn Simjur and Ibn Qaratakin succeeded in gaining over the army, and privately wrote to Nuh; a secret interchange of messages ensued, and presently Nuh advanced to the frontiers of Khorasan, whence he collected troops and obtained money; returning to Bukhara, he gained possession of the place, overcame and captured his uncle, and blinded him, as well as several members of the house.

Account of the stratagems employed by Nuh in order to overcome him and his army.

Ibrahim and Ibn Muhtaj had gone outside Bukhara and encamped in a place called Registan;¹ while they were stationed there, some one cried out in the parade-ground which faced the governor's residence Nuh, *O victorious one!*² A number of the court-attendants joined him. Presently Nuh advanced against his uncle Ibrahim, whose affairs were managed by Ibn Abi Dawud of Balkh. This person's plan for encouraging the hearts

¹ Mentioned by Istakhri, 309, 4. It means "place of dust."

² A formula which implied allegiance to Nuh.

of his followers was to assure them that great reinforcements were on their way and would reach them at night. That was on a day when the battle had been going against Nuh. When night came he sent off a detachment with their mounts ordering them to go to a distance; in the last third of the night¹ they sounded their trumpets, drums and *dabdabs* (104) and entered the camp in the guise of reinforcements. Until morning they kept on entering the camp in this style, and when morning broke and they formed their ranks for battle, the Dailemites who were with Ibrahim deserted, and some of his other followers took to flight. Ibn Muhtaj also was routed, and Nuh got Ibrahim into his power, and treated him as has been described.

In this year died ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. TUGHJ the IKHSHID, and his son ABU'L-QASIM ANUJUR was appointed to his place. The negro eunuch KAFUR, who had been in his father the Ikhshid's service, became supreme at his court.

In this year died 'Ali b. 'Isa, at the age of ninety.²

(105) YEAR 335.

In this year after Mu'izz al-daulah had got complete possession of Baghdad, he endeavoured to make still surer of the Caliph Muti', whom he bound by a terrible oath not to separate himself from Mu'izz al-daulah, to harbour no (106) evil designs against him, and not to side with his enemies. When Muti' had taken this oath, Mu'izz

¹ This Homeric method of measuring time is occasionally retained.

² The Takmilah furnishes a story told on the authority of Abu 'Ali Ibn Mahfuz of a visit paid by 'Ali b. 'Isa to Mu'izz al-daulah; he was escorted by the ministers Saimari and Ibn Tazad; but Mu'izz al-daulah was too drunk to see him or remember who he was. His visit was put off till the next day, when Saimari acted as interpreter. 'Ali b. 'Isa quoted a tradition with the chain of authorities; the prince asked whether these were all Companions of the Prophet. The ex-vizier then advised the prince to see before all things to the embanking of the canals, and this the prince promised to do.

al-daulah released him from custody,¹ and he returned to his Palace.

Hasan b. Harun retired from administration² owing to the attacks made on him by (107) Saimari, who fined his clerk; the supervision of the revenue-farmers was put into the hands of Abu'l-Husain 'Ali b. Mohammed b. Muqlah in the service of Saimari; Abu'l-Husain was thus rewarded by Mu'izz al-daulah for having maintained correspondence with him when he (Mu'izz al-daulah) was on the Western bank. When he crossed, he received Abu'l-Husain and retained him in his service, and now committed to him the supervision of affairs. The secretaryship of the Caliph was given to Abu Ahmad al-Fadl (108) b. 'Abd al-Rahman of Shiraz. Into his hands were put the Estates of the Service,³ having a revenue of 200,000 dinars yearly.

In Muharram of this year (began Aug. 2, 946) news came that the Prince Rukn al-daulah had entered Rayy, and taken possession of the whole Jabal.

In it Abu Bakr Qarabah came from 'Ukbara as Nasir al-daulah's envoy to sue for peace from Mu'izz al-daulah. He had already made the journey several times before this occasion. The terms finally agreed upon were that Nasir al-daulah should hold from Takrit northwards, and that Egypt and Syria should be added to his dominions; he was no longer, as before, to transmit revenue from Mausil and Diyar Bakr, but he was to transmit for Egypt and Syria the same as the Ikhshid Mohammed b. Tughj had been in the habit of transmitting for them. Nasir al-daulah also undertook to send provisions to Baghdad on which no tax was to be levied. Mu'izz al-daulah swore in the presence of the Caliph and the judges to this treaty and to its faithful observance.

¹ Cf. above, ii. 89.

² Cf. above, ii. 91.

³ This appears to mean "the crown estates," but the phrase is rare.

Nasir al-daulah had sent the judges with Ibn Qarabah to sue for peace without consultation with the Turks and without their knowledge. When they learned about it and the terms of peace were published, they conspired to assault him ; learning of this, he fled at night, crossing to the tent of MALHAM, who with the Qarmatians was on the Western bank, whereas the Turks (with whom Nasir al-daulah had been) were on the Eastern bank. Nasir al-daulah implored Malham's protection, which was granted by the latter, who escorted him with Ibn (109) Shirzad on the Western bank, while the Turks remained on the Eastern. When they learned that Nasir al-daulah had got away, they agreed to give the command to Takin Shirzadi, and put Ibn Qarabah under arrest after he had undergone severe torture. They further arrested Nasir al-daulah's clerks and dependents. They then started in pursuit of Nasir al-daulah's clerks and dependents. They then started in pursuit of Nasir al-daulah himself. Yanal Kushah and Lu'lu' deserted to Mu'izz al-daulah. Nasir al-daulah made great haste and the Turks were unable to overtake him. When he reached Marj Juhainah,¹ he arrested Ibn Shirzad, whom he did not otherwise harm, and Tazad, Abu Sa'id Wahb b. Ibrahim, and Jauhar a eunuch of Ibn Shirzad, whom he sent in a body to the fort. Without delaying he proceeded to Nisibin ; while Takin Shirzadi with the Turks advanced to Mausil, of which they took possession. They continued the pursuit of Nasir al-daulah, following him to Sinjar, whither he had proceeded ; he wrote for help to Mu'izz al-daulah, who sent to his aid a number of his officers, after whom he despatched Ispahdost, and finally Saimari. When Takin Shirzadi advanced to Sinjar in pursuit of Nasir al-daulah, the latter proceeded to Hadithah ; pursued thither by Takin, as the latter approached, he proceeded to Sinn, where he was joined by the army of Mu'izz al-daulah with Saimari and Ispah-

¹ First station on the road from Mausil to Baghdad.

dost. All proceeded in company to *Hadithah* to meet *Takin Shirzadi*. A severe engagement took place at *Hadithah*, wherein *Takin* was routed and his forces were cut to pieces. His chief officers were captured, as well as a number of the inferior troops ; a number also were killed. And this took place after he had secured a victory.

Account of the cause of Takin's defeat and overthrow after he had got the better.

The Arabs who were very numerous in the army of *Saimari* put the *Dailemite* ranks into disorder, and fought irregularly. *Saimari* therefore told them to stand aside ; Do not, he said, come between us, but look on ; if one of the enemy takes to flight, pursue him ; but if they hold their ground, then leave them to us so long as they hold it. (110) And make up your minds that if you come near us and mix with our ranks, we shall commence operations upon you before the enemy.—In obedience to his instructions they stood aside. Both sides displayed endurance. The *Turks* made a series of charges which the *Dailemites* bore without flinching ; then the latter sprang at the faces of the *Turks*, and when the latter turned to fly, the *Arabs* charged and stuck their spears into their backs ; they overthrew them, slaughtered a number and took many prisoners. The forces of *Takin Shirzadi* thereupon surrendered and endeavoured to mollify *Nasir al-daulah* by betraying their commander. *Nasir al-daulah* blinded him at once and sent him to one of his fortresses. *Nasir al-daulah* with *Saimari* then proceeded to *Mausil* ; the latter took up his quarters on the Eastern side (opposite *Mausil*), where he was visited by *Nasir al-daulah*, and received in his tent. *Nasir al-daulah* presently left him and crossed to *Mausil* and did not pay him any further visits.

Nasir al-daulah is reported to have said : When I had got into the tent with *Saimari*, I regretted the step

I had taken, being conscious that I had made a mistake and been deluded. So I made haste to get away. Saimari is likewise reported to have said: When Nasir al-daulah left me I regretted that I had not put him under arrest, and only became conscious that I had been imprudent and made a mistake when it was too late to repair the error.

Saimari now obtained possession of Tazad, Wahb and Jauhar, and with them and a thousand *kurr* of wheat and barley descended to Baghdad; he also took a son of Nasir al-daulah named Hibat Allah as a hostage. A day later Ibn Shirzad was brought to Baghdad under guard; Mu'izz al-daulah proceeded to (111) fine him half a million dirhems. The blinded Takin Shirzadi was presently despatched by Nasir al-daulah to Mu'izz al-daulah, who treated him kindly, released him and assigned him a fief.

In this year LASHKARWARZ B. SAHLAN went to Ahwaz at the head of an army accompanied by a finance-minister. Relations became strained between Mu'izz al-daulah and Abu'l-Qasim Baridi.

Mu'izz al-daulah arrested Yanal Kushah, whom he had appointed Chamberlain, Arslan-gur, and Fath Lashkari.¹ He despatched all three to the fort of Ramhurmuz.

On Sunday 8 Shawwal (May 2, 947) Saimari had Ibn Shirzad scourged in his presence, and demanded payment of his fine. Saimari then proceeded to Ahwaz.

In this year there was an engagement between the followers of Baridi and those of Mu'izz al-daulah. It resulted unfavourably to the former; some two hundred Dailemites of consequence on their side were captured.

¹ See above, p. 84.

(112) YEAR 336.

In this year Mu'izz with Mu'izz al-daulah made an expedition to Basrah and wrested it from the hands of Abu'l-Qasim Baridi. They started from Wasit on camels¹ into the desert, and when they had entered it a messenger came to Mu'izz al-daulah from the Qarmatians of Hajar with a letter wherein they complained of his traversing the desert, which belonged to them, without their order. He made no reply to this document, but told the messenger to ask them who they were that their permission had to be demanded for traversing the desert? "Do you suppose my objective is Basrah? No, it is your country and you, when I have taken Basrah; and then you will know about yourselves." He added other words in the same strain, and the messenger went back. Saimari and Musa Fayadhah proceeded by water, and seized Mismaran, where after a brief struggle they entered the palace of Baridi,² while the Caliph with Mu'izz al-daulah reached Dirhamiyyah, where the whole army of Baridi capitulated to them. Abu'l-Qasim Baridi fled to Hajar, and Mu'izz al-daulah took possession of Basrah. The consequence was a great and general fall of prices in Baghdad.

Mu'izz al-daulah arrested all Baridi's officers in Basrah, obtained surrender of all his treasures and deposits, seized his stores, and burned all his rivercraft, such as *shadha'ahs*, barges, and *zabzabs*. He then summoned Lu'lu' from Baghdad and committed to him the finance of Basrah and the ministry of war there. Mu'izz al-daulah now proceeded from Basrah to Ahwaz to meet his brother, 'Imad al-daulah, while the Caliph with Saimari remained behind in Basrah. Kurkir held back and did not accompany Mu'izz al-daulah, without instructions; he was said to be plotting against Mu'izz

¹ This seems to be the sense.² See above, p. 53.

al-daulah with the view to securing the sovereignty for himself. Saimari was sent to him, but he resisted ; he defended himself in his residence, but was overcome by Saimari, who arrested him, and brought him to Mu'izz al-daulah, who despatched him to the fort of Ramhurmuz.

(113) Meeting his brother at Ahwaz, Mu'izz al-daulah kissed the ground before him, and though implored to seat himself in 'Imad al-daulah's presence, declined to do so. Each day Mu'izz al-daulah would present himself at morning and evening, standing, and refusing to be seated. Mu'izz al-daulah was told that 'Imad al-daulah proposed to ask him to evacuate Ramhurmuz and 'Askar Mukram.

ABU'L-HASAN MAFARUKHI¹ stated that he was with Mu'izz al-daulah at Arrajan, whither 'Imad al-daulah had come, and where the meeting took place. I was summoned, he said, by 'Imad al-daulah, who said : I am informed that my brother has been told that I have come here to withdraw from him some of the districts of Ahwaz. Striking his hand on his beard he proceeded : Plague upon it (the beard), if I condescend to such a step ! Whom have I to multiply territories and hoard money for ? He and his brother are my sons, and my ambition is for them only. My purpose in coming here is merely to organize the empire between them, in order that no dissension may arise, should anything happen to me ; for, as you see, I am ailing ; and to ask him to give the elder the preference over himself in accordance with custom. God bless him in his lands ! If he wanted part of Fars, I should let him have it. My prayer to God morning and evening is only for health, for the safety of both my brothers, and that God may spare them. They are indeed my brothers by relationship, but my sons by education, and my creatures by investiture. Whom else have I ? Let people imagine

¹ From i. 382 we learn that he governed Ramhurmuz for Mu'izz al-daulah.

what they will.—So I returned (he said) to Mu'izz al-daulah, and repeated this conversation to him. He was moved to tears. Presenting himself at the end of the day before 'Imad al-daulah, he was profuse in his expressions of gratitude and good wishes; and thinking over what had been said wept in 'Imad al-daulah's presence. Finally the latter pressed him to his bosom.

Mu'izz al-daulah then returned to Baghdad, and proceeded as far as the Shammasiyyah Gate; sending the Caliph forward, he took up his quarters at Zubaidiyyah. Giving out that his objective was Mausil, he sent a letter in Muti's name to Nasir al-daulah. A reply to it was brought to Zubaidiyyah by Ibn Qarabah, who made the double journey (114) repeatedly. Ultimately the money was sent, and the peace ratified.

YEAR 337.¹

In this year news came of an engagement between the Byzantines and Saif al-daulah, wherein the latter was defeated. The Byzantines took Mar'ash and inflicted suffering on the people of Tarsus.²

In this year Mu'izz al-daulah arrested Ispahdost and despatched him to the fort of Ramhurmuz.

Account of the reason for this.

Ispahdost was uncle on the mother's side to Mu'izz al-daulah's children, Habashi being his sister's son. He was in the habit of addressing Mu'izz al-daulah frivolously and disrespectfully, and expressing contempt for all that he did. Mu'izz al-daulah was informed that Ispahdost was in correspondence with Muti' about a plan of assaulting him (Mu'izz al-daulah), to which Muti' had assented. (115) When intelligence to the same effect came in from various quarters, Mu'izz al-daulah arrested Ispahdost.

¹ Began July 11, 948.

² Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 20. He adds that Mar'ash was abandoned after being pillaged.

In this year news came that Rukn al-daulah had routed the 'Alid who was in revolt in Jurjan and Tabaristan.¹

In this year Abu'l-Qasim Baridi entered Baghdad under amnesty, and was received by Mu'izz al-daulah, before whom he kissed the ground. Mu'izz al-daulah provided him with quarters and with a fief of the value of 120,000 dirhems.

In this year news arrived of the expedition of the SALAR (Marzuban b. Mohammed) against Rayy, of which he coveted the possession and whence he hoped to eject Rukn al-daulah. The latter however, resisted and took him prisoner with thirteen of his officers, and despatched him to the fort in Samiram, where he was imprisoned. The Prince Rukn al-daulah then returned to Rayy. A detailed account of this affair will follow.

In this year Mu'izz al-daulah made an expedition to Mausil which he entered. There were negotiations between him and Nasir al-daulah, which resulted in the latter undertaking to pay for Mausil, Diyar Rabi'ah, Diyar Mudar, Raḥbah, and Syria eight million dirhems annually, and to name in public prayer 'Imad al-daulah, Mu'izz al daulah, and Bakhtiyar, son of the latter. Mu'izz al-daulah then departed for Baghdad taking with him as hostages al-Fadl and Husain, sons of Nasir al-daulah.

Saimari had not obtained the signature of Nasir al-daulah to this settlement, because Ibn Qaratakin, retainer of the governor of Khorasan, had attacked Rayy, thereby disconcerting the plans of Mu'izz al-daulah, who hurried to Baghdad, in order to despatch a force thence to help his brother (Rukn al-daulah). He therefore urged Saimari forcibly to settle the business; and Saimari, in order to quiet him, told him he might

¹ There is an allusion to this in Ibn Isfandiyar, p. 223, but this author's information is very inaccurate.

depart if he liked ; for, said he, I have got his signature for eight million dirhems.—Part of this story reached Nasir al-daulah, who declined to give Saimari his signature ; and Saimari was afraid lest the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah should learn the situation after he, Saimari, had professed to have obtained the signature, (116) and refuse to pardon the slip. He departed for Baghdad.

The following was narrated by ABU MOHAMMED Muhallabi, who was Saimari's deputy : I asked Saimari what plea he would allege if the Prince demanded to see this signature, and he were unable to produce it ?—He said : I will command Ibn Qarabah to sign, for he cannot refuse me ; then if Nasir al-daulah objects, I will say that Ibn Qarabah was his deputy, and whatever is written by him binds his principal.—I said : But what if Ibn Qarabah refuse to sign ? And that is a thing which you cannot force him to do.—He said : We shall forge Ibn Qarabah's signature. (Now there was a man in Baghdad who could forge handwritings marvellously).—I said : If you have made up your mind on that expedient, then do not ask Ibn Qarabah to sign, for if he refuses, the forgery will be futile ; but let us forge his signature in the first instance.—So we did forge in Ibn Qarabah's writing a promise to pay eight millions. Saimari then started on his expedition against 'IMRAN¹ ; then came the catastrophe of 'Imad al-daulah's death ; Saimari departed again, and this was the expedition whence he did not return. Ibn Qarabah now came to Baghdad, and I demanded the money of him ; he refused to pay ; I produced the document, which he disowned, swearing with the divorce penalty that he had never written it. He proceeded to say : I do not doubt that it is my handwriting, only I never wrote it.—He added : Now, my friend, if *I* am in doubt, what will be the case with others who are likely to be deceived by handwritings ? You, Abu Mohammed, are well aware that Nasir al-daulah

¹ See below, p. 120.

declined to give his signature to Saimari, and that Saimari departed without having obtained it. I am therefore encompassed by disaster; and this is not the treatment which I have deserved at your hands.— I said: The *Ustadh* Saimari is away, and your charge against him will not be accepted. The Prince will take the side of his vizier and not yours. He will attest that this is your handwriting and we shall back him, in order that his claim may not lapse, and a quarrel with his vizier be the result. Your best plan therefore is to say to the Prince: When the trouble with Ibn Qaratakin occurred, and the army started for Rayy, the cupidity of Nasir al-daulah was roused, and he repudiated the contract. The best plan is to deal gently with him so that some of the money due from him may be realized, since otherwise the principal will become a dead letter. Then, when this affair is over, after a year the question will be about a fresh year, (117) and you will see that an advance payment is made. For this practice will be the more advantageous.—He repeated this to the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah, who summoned me privately, and asked me what I thought.—I said your best plan is to be complaisant and accept: when we are able to undertake an expedition to Mausil, we shall have the contract with us, and shall exact the eight millions in full.—He told me to act accordingly.—So we settled for three million dirhems for one year, and obtained the whole sum.

When Saimari departed from the presence of Nasir al-daulah having arranged terms of peace, the latter went to Mausil and oppressed the people in order to extort the advance payment.

In this year SABUKTAKIN the Chamberlain started for Rayy taking with him most of the army and the Qarmatians, to reinforce Rukn al-daulah. Presently Mu'izz al-daulah sent after them RUZBAHAN, 'ALIKAN, and a number of Dailemites. They joined forces.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this was that the army of Khorasan had taken the field. News of this had reached Rukn al-daulah. Now IBN 'ABD AL-RAZZAQ was a great commander in Khorasan, only he was at variance with his chief. He wrote to Rukn al-daulah stating that he was about to join him with his force. Rukn al-daulah prepared to receive him, and arranged a variety of honours for him. He wrote to his brothers Mu'izz al-daulah and 'Imad al-daulah, and each of these sent him money, horses, apparel and presents in quantity, all of which he bestowed on Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq, with presents of his own; this was after Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq had presented himself and trodden Rukn al-daulah's carpet. Rukn al-daulah then sent Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq back to Damaghan, where wealth reached him of the like whereof he had no experience. Rukn al-daulah sent him to Damaghan only in order that Rayy should not be overcrowded with armies, and instructed him to distribute the money as he thought fit among the persons he thought fit.

It was presently decided between the three princes ('Imad, Rukn and Mu'izz al-daulah) to invest Rukn al-daulah with the government of Khorasan in formal style, in order that (118) their struggle with the existing government might be for the principle of supremacy.

News then came of the movement of Marzuban b. Mohammed b. Musafir (the Salar) who was planning an expedition against Rayy and a war against Rukn al-daulah, taking advantage of the arrival of the Khorasanite army, which would, he thought, occupy Rukn al-daulah's attention. Mu'izz al-daulah thereupon charged his chamberlain SABUKTAKIN to proceed to the assistance of Rukn al-daulah; by this time Sabuktakin had become a man of mark and power. Mu'izz al-daulah placed under him the bulk of his army with his chief

officers, among whom were BURARISH, RUZBAHAN, etc., a large detachment of Turks, and three thousand notable Arab champions, among whom were IBRAHIM B. AL-MUTAWWAQ, called IBN AL-BARID, 'AMMAR the Mad, AHMAD B. SALIH KILABI, and persons of their rank. He distributed money, and furnished all necessaries, such as horses, arms, and the like. He wrote a deed of investiture with the government of Khorasan for Rukn al-daulah, and tied a banner for him; this was sent out together with robes of honour, being conveyed by one of the Sultan's chamberlains who accompanied the Chamberlain Sabuktakin. The expedition proceeded excellently equipped. But when the army came within sight of Dinawar, Burarish mutinied, being unwilling to serve under Sabuktakin, or march under his banner. He secured on his side the Dailemites who were in the army, who all responded to his call, and the morrow morning they invaded the tent of Sabuktakin, who was sitting unsuspectingly there; Burarish flung a javelin at Sabukatakin, which lodged in his shoulder; the wounded chief immediately took to flight and got away under the tent-flap, mounted a camel belonging to the guard, and made his way to the country, where he was joined by his retainers, the other Turks and the Arabs. The Dailemites got possession of his transport and baggage, which they plundered. They likewise plundered the transport of the Sultan's chamberlain who was conveying the robes of honour, which disappeared with the plunder. All the Dailemites sided with Burarish except Ruzbahan and a few others who preferred the service of Sabuktakin to that of Burarish. Burarish now fled without plan,¹ and the Dailemites went back to Sabuktakin, who received them and accepted their excuses, and punished none of them. He commanded the Arabs to pursue Burarish, and in a very

¹ Perhaps something is lost. The cause of the failure of Burarish should have been further elucidated.

short time (119) he was captured and brought in by Ibrahim b. al-Mutawwaq, called Ibn al-Barid. Stripped of his armour he was made to stand before Sabuktakin, who addressed him in vindictive style; and reproached him bitterly; he then ordered him to be put in fetters, and proceeded to Hamadhan. Here he saw that the robes of honour which had been plundered were replaced, and when he had procured substitutes, he finished his journey to the capital of Rukn al-daulah, whom he found quartered at the gate of Rayy. Sabuktakin delivered Burarish over to him, and that was the last that was heard of Burarish. Rukn al-daulah now donned his robes of honour and appeared in them in public, when his investiture with the government of Khorasan was recited in the presence of the judges, military commanders and notables. Reinforcements came in from Shiraz and he sent for Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Razzaq from Damaghan, to go and engage Marzuban, who was the more dangerous enemy and with whom it was desirable to commence. In the engagement he defeated Marzuban, who was taken prisoner as we have narrated in dealing with his story.¹

YEAR 338.

In this year Saimari went downstream to engage 'IMRAN B. SHAHIN, who was a native of Jamidah, had committed a crime and fled from the local government to the Marsh, where he dwelt amid the rushes and the thickets living entirely on the fish that he could catch. Presently he was compelled to waylay and rob those who entered the Marsh. His case became known to a number of fishermen who collected round him, with other local robbers; he was thus able to protect himself against the government, and when he was afraid of being attacked, he sought the protection of Baridi, who charged him with the protection of Jamidah and the Ahwaz

¹ See below, p. 131.

which is in the Marshes. He continued collecting forces till he had a large number of followers, and was strong enough to make himself master of the whole district.

In this year news arrived that Ibn Qaratakin, retainer of the governor of Khorasan, had retired to Nisabur, his forces being dispersed. Washmagir remained in Tabaristan, and Rukn al-daulah advanced against him, (120) meaning to engage him; when Rukn al-daulah approached, Washmagir retired without a battle. He was intercepted by 'Ali b. Surkhab, one of Rukn al-daulah's officers, who attacked his baggage. Most of Washmagir's followers deserted to Rukn al-daulah, who proceeded to enter Amul.

In this year Saimari dealt a series of blows to 'Imran b. Shahin, whose family and domestics he captured. 'Imran b. Shahin fled into hiding. Then came intelligence of the death of 'Imad al-daulah, and the disorder in the army there, and Mu'izz al-daulah wrote to Saimari, bidding him hasten to Shiraz to put affairs there in order. Rukn al-daulah also came to Shiraz, and the two conjointly settled affairs, pacified the country and reorganized the army. When order had been restored and the country was quiet, they handed it over to the Prince ABU SHUJA' FANNAKHUSRAH son of Rukn al-daulah, and went home.

The disease of which 'Imad al-daulah died was an ulcer in the kidneys, which had for a long time been wasting his frame. After his death letters were issued by the Caliph announcing that he had appointed his brother Rukn al-daulah Prince of Princes in his place.

The Prince Mu'izz al-daulah became displeased with Abu'l-Hasan Mafarukhi, and arrested his cousin 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in Basrah, and afterwards himself, when the two had proved themselves unable to farm the revenues of Basrah and the lowlands, a business wherein they had been partners. The Prince wrote to Saimari,

who was at the time in Shiraz, bidding him despatch ABU'L-FADL AL-'ABBAS B. FASANJAS. He did so, and Mu'izz al-daulah gave him control of the bureaux which had been under Abu'l-Hasan Mafarukhi, from whom he took them over one week before Mu'izz al-daulah appointed Abu Mohammed Muhallabi secretary. Ibn Fasanjas endeavoured to lay hands on the Bureau of the Sawad, and make it part of his bureau, but was prevented by Muhallabi (121), who argued that this bureau had been part of that of Saimari. He then tried to lay hands on the Bureau of Expenditure, which was controlled by Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain Shirazi, and that of the Army which was under SAHL B. BARDISHT (?), as also on the account of the Treasury, which was under ABU 'ALI HASAN B. IBRAHIM SHIRAZI. Mu'izz al-daulah however prevented this, as he was attached to this group and relied upon them.

In this year news arrived that Kurkir and Yanal Kushah had murdered the custodians of the fort of Ramhurmuz, and broken their fetters. Yanal Kushah had fled, but was met by Kurds, against whom he defended himself, to meet his death at their hands. Neither Kurkir, Fath Lashkari, Arslan Gur, nor Ispahdost left the place. Mu'izz al-daulah wrote to Saimari, who was in Shiraz, bidding him hasten to the fort and secure it. He did so. Ispahdost was ill of colic and died there. Whilst Saimari was thus at a distance from 'Imran b. Shahin, and occupied with these affairs, the latter, who was at the end of his resources, had a respite, emerged from his concealment, returned to his post, collected his dispersed forces, and became powerful.

In this year 'Imad al-daulah 'Ali b. Buwaihi felt the approach of death owing to a succession of illnesses; his brother being at a distance, while numerous Dailemite chieftains were around him, he was afraid that some of them might aspire to his realm after him; so he sent

to his brother Rukn al-daulah for his son Fannakhusrah, to be trained as his successor, and win the confidence of the officers and the troops. Rukn al-daulah agreed, and Fannakhusrah proceeded to Shiraz, accompanied by trusty followers whom his father had attached to him. He was met by 'Imad al-daulah at the head of his whole army, and seated by him on the throne in his palace; the people were ordered to salute him, and 'Imad al-daulah stood in his presence to see that no-one declined. It was a memorable day. After this 'Imad al-daulah made his will in his nephew's favour, and died.

(122) *Account of the prudence and forethought displayed by 'Imad al-daulah before his death.*

'Imad al-daulah harboured suspicions concerning a number of his chief officers, whom he knew to be desirous of securing the sovereignty for themselves, regarding themselves as of higher station and so more worthy of office. Of these he cleared his army, arresting a number of them. Among those whom he arrested was one SHIRANJIN B. JALIS. Representations were made in his favour to 'Imad al-daulah, the chiefs of whose staff and whose most trusted counsellors pleaded his cause. He said to them: Let me tell you a story about him; if, after you have listened to it, you still think that I ought to release him, I will do so.—He then began to tell them how he had been in the service of Nasr b. Ahmad in Khorasan; At that time, he continued, we were in a Dailemite troop; Nasr b. Ahmad used to hold receptions twice a week, and was seated one day for this purpose, surrounded by more than ten thousand of his own and his father's retainers, in addition to the rest of the army. Now I noticed that this Shiranjin had bared a dagger, which he was hiding under his cloak. I asked him what it was for. He said: I mean to do something to-day for which I shall be remembered for ever.—And what is that? I asked.—He said: I am going to approach him

as though I had a grievance which I wished righted, or a petition to prefer. I shall gradually get nearer, and when I am sure of reaching the lad (meaning Nasr b. Ahmad), I shall strike him down, not minding if I am slain afterwards. I am tired of standing in this youngster's presence. (Nasr b. Ahmad was at the time twenty years old and his beard was beginning to sprout).—I knew that if he did that, he would not suffer alone, but the whole troop of Dailemites would be put to death. So, seizing his hand, I said to him: I have a communication to make to you.—I then collected the Dailemites around him, and informed them of his design, and of the fate which awaited us if he carried it out. They seized hold of his hand and took away his dagger. After hearing his intentions with regard to Nasr b. Ahmad, do you wish me to give him the chance of standing before *this* youngster?—They withdrew their intercession, saying: The Prince understands his army best. (123) Shiranjin remained in his prison till he died.

In this year ABU'L-SA'IB 'UTBAH B. 'UBAIDALLAH was appointed Judge of Judges.

YEAR 339.

In this year news came of Rayy being entered by Ibn Qaratakin, retainer of the governor of Khorasan, having been evacuated by the followers of Rukn al-daulah, who was in Tabaristan at the time. The followers of Ibn Qaratakin obtained possession of the whole Jabal.

In this year Saimari (Abu Ja'far Mohammed b. Ahmad) died of acute fever in Bazbuni¹ of Jamidah, on his return to fight against 'Imran b. Shahin.

In this year also Mu'izz al-daulah made Abu Mohammed Hasan b. Mohammed MUHALLABI his secretary;

¹ Probably the same as Bazbun, mentioned by Qudamah b. Ja'far, ed. de Goeje, p. 235, 18.

now when (124) the news came of Saimari's death, various persons were designated by public gossip as likely to receive this appointment, among them ABU 'ALI TABARI, ABU 'ALI HASAN B. HARUN, and Muhallabi. Muhallabi and Hasan made a sworn agreement that whichever of them should win the post should be the friend and partner of the other. Abu 'Ali Tabari, an uneducated man, who had originally been a slave-dealer, intrigued for the secretaryship of Mu'izz al-daulah, and offered a vast sum.¹ Mu'izz al-daulah encouraged his aspiration, and bade him transmit the money; he did transmit a sum to the Treasury, but when it had been secured, Mu'izz al-daulah rejected him for Muhallabi, whom he appointed secretary and manager of the departments of the *kharaj* and the collections of taxes. A robe of honour in connexion with this office was bestowed upon him on Monday —3 Jumada i (Nov. 12, 950). Muhallabi gave his daughter in marriage to ABU 'ALI HASAN B. MOHAMMED ANBARI the Clerk, whom he appointed as his deputy in the capital, while he himself descended the river to Ahwaz.

Account of the reasons which induced Mu'izz al-daulah to select Muhallabi in preference to the eminent clerks who were to be found in the capital and elsewhere, notwithstanding the number of competent persons at the time.

The reason for this was that Mu'izz al-daulah found that Muhallabi combined all the qualifications of a ruler, which was the case with no-one else, though there may have been persons more skilled in secretarial work. Moreover Mu'izz al-daulah had long known him intimately, as he had been Saimari's deputy-vizier, and was in consequence familiar with the *arcana imperii*, the secrets of state, with which the others were unacquainted, since Saimari had not sufficient confidence in them to

¹ According to an authority cited in the note 300,000 dinars !

divulge these matters to them. Further Muhallabi could give a good account of himself, spoke well, won respect, had expedients for raising money, was versed in the practices of the ancient vizierate, and was besides liberal, courageous, a man of letters, and proficient in Persian. He restored most of the etiquette of the clerks' profession that had become obsolete, brought waste land anew into cultivation, reintroduced sound methods of (125) raising revenue, and left a good record. In addition he showed favour to men of learning and science, brought them from obscurity into note, made them conspicuous, and so encouraged people once again to cultivate these neglected subjects.

Proceeding to Ahwaz, he collected various moneys which the officials had hoped to embezzle, such as arrears, additions which he made to what was guaranteed in their contracts, or sums which he compelled the officials and farmers to pay by investigation of their instructions. Thus he continuously transmitted money to the metropolis, and manifested his superiority to his predecessors.

This year news came that Saif al-daulah had raided far into the Byzantine territory, taken a number of their fortresses, and made many captives. When however he wished to quit Byzantine territory, the Byzantines occupied the pass whereby he meant to depart, and in consequence all the Moslems who were with him were either captured or killed and all the booty was recovered; in addition his baggage, transport, stores, money and arms were taken, and the Byzantines became possessed of such booty as they had never seen. (126) He himself escaped with a few followers.¹

¹ Greater detail is given by Dhahabi, who is cited in the note. Saif al-daulah started in Rabi' i (began Aug. 18, 950), took the army of Tarsus commanded by the Qadi Abu Hasin, marched to Caesarea, then to al-Funduq, then to Kharshanah, then to Sarkah at a distance of seven days from Constantinople. Here he inflicted a severe defeat on the Domesticus. On the return hence he was trapped and defeated as the text above records. Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 25, says the Byzantine general occupied the gorge of Mt. Amanus, still called the Pass of Cicero.

In this year the Chamberlain Sabuktakin went to Hamadhan to reinforce Rukn al-daulah, and entering Qarmisin made prisoners of all the followers of Ibn Qaratakin who were there.

In this year the Qarmatians restored the Black Stone to its place in the Sacred House of Meccah. It had been taken thence by Abu Tahir Sulaiman b. Hasan Jannabi.¹ Bachkam had (127) offered for its restoration fifty thousand dinars, but his offer had been declined, with the message : *We took it by order, and when an order comes to restore it, we shall do so.* When Dhu'l-Qa'dah of this year came (began April 11, 951) the brothers of Abu Tahir² wrote a letter wherein they stated that they were restoring the Stone by the order of him by whose command they had removed it, that the ceremonies of the pilgrims might be performed completely.³ The person who brought it was Abu Mohammed Ibn Sanbar,⁴ who presently took it to Meccah, and restored it to its place.

Account of the services rendered by Abu Mohammed Muhallabi the vizier, whereby the devastated lands were brought into cultivation, so that they produced a copious revenue regularly transmitted to the capital after they had been unproductive.

When Mu'izz al-daulah entered Basrah as conqueror, the subjects complained to him of their ill-treatment by the Baridis. With most of this he was acquainted. Abu Yusuf Baridi had monopolized the management of the revenue of Basrah and its collection, and had instructed Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Asad the Clerk⁵ to demand of the owners of lands from which the right of the tithe

¹ See above, i. 201.

² See above, ii. 57.

³ Ibn Khaldun iv. 100 states that the Stone was returned by order of the 'Ubaidi Mansur (334-341). Its previous removal according to this author had been condemned by the 'Ubaidi of the time (Mahdi), in consequence of whose reproaches Abu Tahir had severed himself from the 'Ubaidis.

⁴ See above, ii. 56.

⁵ See above, ii. 54.

was taken, and which are called (128) *The Alms of the lands of the Arabs*, in Basrah, twenty dirhems on each *jarib* of wheat and barley.¹ This he did because of the rise in prices in Basrah, where the average *kurr* of wheat reached two hundred dinars. The rise in the duty was gradual. When however Abu 'Abdallah Baridi put his brother Abu Yusuf to death, he retained Ibn Asad in his post as manager of finance, and he maintained this duty. Owing to the oppression of the Baridis and their agents the area of cultivation was reduced each year. They however continued to demand the tax in accordance with the assessment whilst the money due in accordance with the assessment fell short of the acreage² of cultivation. Each year then the amount due on each *jarib* was greater than in the preceding year. Further owing to the numerous sieges which had befallen the city the people of Basrah had suffered famine, and been compelled to sow wheat and barley under their palms; and when they did this, they were charged forty dirhems on each *jarib*. They therefore reduced the area of cultivation, whilst the amount which formerly had been raised was made the basis of their present assessment, and the "tithe" was exacted in full from the landowners. There was an exodus in consequence, but this only added to the burdens of those who remained.

When Muhallabi was appointed vizier to Mu'izz al-daulah, and entered Basrah, the people complained of the assessments which had been made out of the wheat-producing and barley-producing lands. Muhallabi gave them satisfactory assurances. Ultimately he arranged that they should go back to the older plan whereby the "tithe" was to be taken in kind without the official

¹ Muqaddasi, p. 133, states that Omar I imposed four dirhems on the *Jarib* of wheat, two on that of barley. He adds that in Buwaihid times the taxes in Basrah were very heavy.

² The assessment furnished a total made up of the amount due on each *jarib*; the meaning is that the total sums produced fell shorter and shorter of what the acreage stated in the assessment should have furnished.

fixing of either acreage or price ; and having made a rough estimate of the difference between what could be taken from them on this system and on the current plan, he advised the "tithe"-payers to purchase the difference between the just treatment and the iniquitous treatment with an immediate payment which would prove attractive to Mu'izz al-daulah, who would be solaced for the reduction in the amount to be collected by the ready cash, in addition to which there was the fructifying result of justice, the cordiality which the measure would inspire, and the prospect of increased revenue in the future.¹ The "tithe"-payers assented, and the sum whereon the parties agreed was 2,200,000 dirhems. A contract was drawn up to this effect ; Muhallabi then for the benefit of the poorer "tithe"-payers reduced the amount by 200,000 dirhems. He wrote to Mu'izz al-daulah to point out that though this involved (129) a momentary reduction, yet it promised future benefit and improvement in the revenue of the region. Mu'izz al-daulah approved this measure and ratified it. The people of Basrah at an assembly had the sale on the part of Muti' formally attested, and sealed their contract of purchase, the object purchased being described as the difference between the two systems of assessment. The people now started cultivation, and the Sultan's revenue was multiplied. The dues were abolished which had been levied in Basrah, and the amount paid on ships came to average 2,000,000 dirhems.²

This then was one of the services rendered by Muhallabi.

In this year news arrived of a mutiny that had taken place in the army of Sabuktakin, who had been deserted by the Qarmatians and Turks after they had been severely handled by Rukn al-daulah.

¹ It is not clear how this differs from the first.

² An example of these dues is given by Muqaddasi, p. 133 ult. Four dirhems were exacted on each head of sheep. The meaning of the text is that owing to the abolition of these dues the traffic in the harbour increased,

Account of the reason for this.

Great pains were taken to conciliate them, as they were facing the enemy ; but when this was found to be impossible, Rukn al-daulah said : These troops are enemies within the camp, and more dangerous than those whom we are facing ; our only plan is to fight and expel them. He therefore attacked and routed them. The Arabs went to Mu'izz al-daulah ; the Turks departed for Mausil. When Rukn al-daulah came to Hamadhan, Ibn Qaratakin moved from Rayy to Ispahan.

In this year Muhallabi fought a battle with 'Imran b. Shahin, the former having Ruzbahan with him. The result was unfavourable to Muhallabi and Ruzbahan, most of whose officers were captured, whilst Abu'l-Fath Ibn Abi Tahir was killed. This was after Muhallabi had gained a definite advantage.

Account of the reason for this, i.e., the defeat of Muhallabi after he had secured a victory over 'Imran.

The reason for this was that Mu'izz al-daulah placed reliance on Ruzbahan in the war (130) against 'Imran. He proceeded to build rivercraft, enlist soldiers and muster forces ; only 'Imran made his progress slow, by entrenching himself in his hidingplaces in the marshes. Ruzbahan grew weary, and took the offensive, endeavouring to force an encounter ; but in this 'Imran was victorious, routing Ruzbahan and his followers, and capturing all his rivercraft and arms, wherewith he strengthened himself. This encouraged him to defy the government, and his followers were anxious to fight the imperial troops, whom they despised. So after this, when great and respected Chamberlains, officers and commanders of the Dailemites and Turks passed their way, the followers of 'Imran used insulting language to them, demanding fees for escort and as guardians of the road. If one of these officials declined, the followers of 'Imran violently abused him and shamefully beat

him. The soldiers however could not avoid passing by them, having need of their lands and businesses¹ in Basrah and Ahwaz. After a time the road to Basrah was stopped except by land. This occupied the attention of Mu'izz al-daulah, before whom the commanders, chamberlains and officers complained bitterly of the treatment which they underwent on their passage. He wrote therefore to Muhallabi, bidding him come back to Wasit to repair the mischief that had taken place, and prepare to renew the struggle with 'Imran. He also sent him a mighty army, commanded by Ibn Abi Tahir,² with the chief officers and retainers of Mu'izz al-daulah. He also sent him arms in abundance and gave him a free hand in the matter of expenditure.

Muhallabi now proceeded against 'Imran, and blocked his paths, till he came to a narrow defile in the marshes, where the passages were known only to 'Imran and his followers. Ruzbahan was desirous that Muhallabi should experience the same disaster as had befallen him, and should not monopolize the victory. He therefore advised Muhallabi to make a frontal attack. Muhallabi was cautious and wanted to block up the defiles; Ruzbahan set people's minds against Muhallabi, opposed all his plans, and prevented him from blocking up the defile, writing to Mu'izz al-daulah to charge Muhallabi with incompetence, asserting that he was simply unequal to the situation, and wished to let the matter drag on, in order to be able to justify the expenditure incurred. He kept on sending letters to this effect or the like till at last Mu'izz al-daulah wrote letters to Muhallabi complaining of his delay. Muhallabi now abandoned prudence, and became foolhardy. Discarding all his former plans, he with his whole force (**131**) made a frontal attack upon 'Imran, while Ruzbahan loitered in the rear in order to be among the first to escape when the rout came.

¹ The meaning of the word in the text is not clear.

² Probably the personage mentioned above, ii. 29, etc.

'Imran had placed ambushes in those cross-channels, and filled them with craft suitable to the narrow water-ways. The men sprang out of their ambushes upon the troops who were crowding and jostling in water-ways with which they were unacquainted; 'Imran's men planted their spears in Muhallabi's soldiery, slew some and captured others. Ruzbahan got off without loss; Muhallabi escaped by swimming, leaving his officers and staff as prisoners. Circumstances compelled him to make peace with 'Imran, who gained enormously in importance, and obtained what terms he wished.

We have already mentioned how the news arrived of the expedition of the Salar Marzuban to Rayy, promising that we would give a detailed account of the affair. This promise we shall now proceed to redeem.

Account of the causes which induced the Salar Marzuban to invade Rayy, and the failure of his plans, resulting in his capture and confinement in the fort at Samiram.

Marzuban had sent an envoy to Mu'izz al-daulah on certain business. He arrived at Baghdad when Mu'izz al-daulah had departed thence for Basrah, which he took. The envoy waited till Mu'izz al-daulah returned, when he delivered his message. This contained matter which roused the indignation of Mu'izz al-daulah, who ordered the envoy's beard to be shaved off,¹ and used language of the coarsest description to him. The envoy departed in this condition, and told Marzuban what had befallen him. The prince was roused to fury, and commenced mustering troops and making preparations for war. He thought it wisest to begin with Rayy; but he sent a private message to Nasir al-daulah, offering him his personal help and that of his sons, troops and

¹ The East is unchangeable in this matter. See 2 Samuel x. 4 for this form of humiliation. In 1718 Charles XII. of Sweden threatened to shave the beards of certain captains of Janissaries, the greatest humiliation which a Moslem can undergo (*Zinkeisen Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v. 445.)

treasures, with the suggestion that he should start an invasion of Baghdad. Nasir al-daulah rejected his advice but returned a civil answer, stating that in his view he had best commence with Rayy, and if he succeeded in that enterprise, he might afterward attack Baghdad and other places.

One 'Ali b. Juwanqulah, an officer from Rayy, who had deserted to Marzuban, informed him concerning the dispositions of the officers whom (132) he had left in Rayy, who, he said, were about to join him; this increased the confidence of Marzuban, who sent for his father Mohammed b. Musafir, and his brother Abu Mansur Wahsudhan. When his father arrived, Marzuban went to meet him and kissed the ground before him. He then seated him in the place of honour, and remained standing in his presence, declining to sit down until his father had repeatedly adjured him to do so. He then seated himself, but his brother Wahsudhan persistently declined to do the same.

When it was night they held a private meeting, and Mohammed b. Musafir ascertaining that it was Marzuban's intention to attack Rayy, endeavoured to dissuade him, showing him certain facts which made it desirable to desist from this enterprise. Marzuban however rejected his advice, stating that he had received letters showing that the majority of the officers there were prepared to desert to him. When the time for parting came, the father was deeply affected, and said: Where, Marzuban, I am to look for you after to-day?—Marzuban replied: Either in government house in Rayy or among the slain.

Now when Rukn al-daulah had learned of his plans, he had written demanding aid from his two brothers, 'Imad al-daulah and Mu'izz al-daulah; but fearing lest Marzuban should anticipate the arrival of the aid, he wrote an insincere and crafty letter to Marzuban,

wherein he humiliated himself before the majesty of the latter, and requested him to abandon his expedition on condition that he (Rukn al-daulah) should surrender to Marzuban Abhar, Zanzan and Qazwin. Correspondence between the two continued till there arrived at Rukn al-daulah's court the Chamberlain BARIS at the head of two thousand troops from the army of 'Imad al-daulah, and the Chamberlain SABUKTAKIN at the head of the same number from the army of Mu'izz al-daulah. By this time too Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Razzaq had deserted to him from the army of Khorasan,¹ while MOHAMMED B. MAKAN came to reinforce him from Hasan b. Fairuzan.

When his arrangements were completed, he arrested those officers whose fidelity he suspected, and whom he supposed to be in correspondence with Marzuban, and started at the head of all his forces for Qazwin. Marzuban was aware that he could not resist Rukn al-daulah, but being unwilling to retire decided to risk an engagement. He had with him at the time five thousand Dailemites, Jilites and Kurds. The right and left wings of Rukn al-daulah charged the left (133) and right wings of Marzuban, both of which took to flight; Marzuban himself remained steadfast in the centre until his father-in-law BALI was killed, and the same happened to WANDASFAHAN B. MISHAKI, while 'ALI B. MISHAKI called BULLAKA, MOHAMMED B. IBRAHIM² and a number of his chief officers were taken prisoners; he himself was then surrounded by the enemy's troops and was captured, and sent by Rukn al-daulah to Rayy, and thence to Ispahan, whence he was transferred to the fort of Samiram.

When he was removed from Rayy with a number of Rukn al-daulah's officers and intimates, the party was attached to the genuine *Ustadh* and Chief (I mean Abu'l-

¹ Above, ii. 119.

² See above, ii. 33.

Fadl Ibn al-'Amid), who undertook to secure him and outwit him till he was brought into the fort.

Account of the scheme whereby Marzuban was brought safely into Ispahan after he had conspired with the Dailemites who had been sent with him to assault Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid and get away.

The following was told me by Ibn al-'Amid : When, he said, we were on the road between Rayy and Ispahan, I became convinced that messages were being interchanged between the Dailemites and Marzuban, and that the former had agreed to rescue him by force, remove his fetters and assault me. This was so clear that it came near being openly attempted. Fearing it would soon be too late to counterplot, I made myself his companion—he was in a litter—and entered into conversation with him. He was expecting the plot to take effect that day. I adopted a friendly and conciliatory tone, expressing my sorrow and sympathy for the trouble whereinto he had fallen; and when I proceeded to suggest my readiness to fall in with his scheme, a notion which he had not previously entertained, he inclined his head towards me, and said : You are a lucky man. If you mean what you say, before all things remove these fetters, and I promise you so much ; giving the assurances which were natural on such an occasion. Pretending that I knew nothing about the conspiracy of the Dailemites in his favour, I said that I was afraid my companions would not support me in such a proceeding. He said : God pardon you ! You do not know the situation. All your companions are resolved to remove my fetters and to assault you ; If you like, I will have it done at once.—I said : It is enough for me to (134) be assured of that ; I will be the first slave to minister to you, and offer my counsel and obedience for the realization of your plan.—I then communicated to him certain proceedings of my master of which I professed to disapprove,

and various grievances which I harboured against him.—He proceeded to summon one after another of the officers who were with me, and to whisper into their ears that I was on his side and would act in his interest. After interviewing these officers he took me into their counsels, at which I expressed great satisfaction. So we arranged that we should dismount at the next station and there consummate our scheme. When we had dismounted and pitched our tents and pavilions, and he had been installed in his quarters, he summoned me privately, and naming certain of those in whom he had confidence, he bade me send for them.—Salar, I answered, I have an idea which you ought to hear. If it meets with your approval, it can be carried out ; otherwise your orders will be obeyed.—He asked me what it was.—The womenfolk, children and stores of Rukn al-daulah, I answered, are all in Ispahan. I am his vizier, enjoy his confidence and am in charge of all. If we were to keep up the present appearances so as to incur no suspicion, you could get possession of all this ; further we should be installed in a flourishing city, where we could mature our plans. Moreover the womenfolk and children of all the officers are in Ispahan, and if we seize them, not one of the officers will have any spirit to resist you ; they will all capitulate, and the cause of Rukn al-daulah will be irretrievably ruined. Moreover we shall obtain possession of his fortresses and stores, and when we have removed the latter, he will have no resource left. If on the other hand we rush our scheme and raise the standard of revolt here, we shall be pursued by the cavalry, which may surround us ; very likely some of those who are now on our side will join theirs, and then we, being a handful of men surrounded by Rukn al-daulah's friends and soldiery, may not even be able to get safely away.—At this (said Ibn al-'Amid) I saw his face brighten, and he could not repress the delight which intoxicated him. Your scheme, he said, is the only

scheme !—I will now retire, I said, and do you send information of your new plan to all those who were initiated into the former.—He agreed to do this, and I left him confident that through my assistance he was about to win a throne, and that (135) his fortune had come round and his luck become assured and all through my wonderful plans !—The intelligence circulated among his followers and fellow-conspirators that I was in the plot, so they kept quiet after designing to do what I have described. I travelled without fear till I reached Ispahan ; and there having at my disposal soldiers and the disposition of affairs, I began by arresting those officers, and with the help of trusty agents got Marzuban into my power and lodged him in fetters in the fort.

Account of what happened to Marzuban's army in Adharbaijan after his imprisonment.

Those who had escaped out of his army, including such officers as JUSTAN B. SHARMZAN, 'ALI B. AL-FADL, SHAHFIRUZ B. KARDUYAH, and other leaders with two thousand of the rank and file joined the aged MOHAMMED B. MUSAFIR, and made him their chief. They proceeded to Ardabil, and he assumed possession of Adharbaijan. His son Wahsudhan fled from him and entrenched himself in his fortress in Tarm, being aware of the grudge which his father harboured against him, and of his habitual misgovernment. After a short time Mohammed b. Musafir became a tyrant and resumed his former evil ways towards the Dailemites, who conspired to assault him; they mutinied and meant to put him to death. He was forced to seek refuge with his son Wahsudhan, who would, he thought, give him protection. Wahsudhan however arrested him, and confined him in the fortress Sisajan, which was his own residence at the time. His confinement was strict, and he remained powerless and without authority till his death, which took place before the escape of his son Marzuban from the fortress Samiram.

After his capture of Marzuban Rukn al-daulah appointed to the government of Adharbaijan MOHAMMED B. 'ABD AL-RAZZAQ, and despatched him thither. Wahsudhan was now in a difficulty, and was compelled to release DAISAM B. IBRAHIM from the fortress, owing to the loyalty of the Kurds to him and his former sovereignty over Adharbaijan.¹ He accordingly let him out, gave him a robe of honour, furnished him with authority and supplies, and instructed him to muster the Kurds of Adharbaijan and any one else who would obey him, and attack Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Razzaq. Now the Dailemites after they had rid themselves of Mohammed b. Musafir had agreed to appoint as their chief 'Ali b. al-Fadl. Through the mediation of Wahsudhan 'Ali b. al-Fadl put himself under the command of Daisam, who (136), when his authority was established, proceeded to Ardabil. He appointed as his secretary AHMAD B. 'ABDALLAH B. MAHMUD. Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq advanced to Ardabil; Daisam thereupon retreated to Warathan in the neighbourhood of Bardha'ah, to collect money and assemble his bands of Kurds.

Account of the error committed by Daisam in alarming his vizier, who left him and so injured his cause that he was defeated by the enemy.

There was in the neighbourhood of Khoi and Salmas a Christian clerk, called IBN AL-SAQR, who had been in the employ of Marzuban before his captivity. Hearing about Daisam this Ibn al-Saqr went to him bringing the money which he had collected. He made a favourable impression upon Daisam, who treated him with profound respect, going the length of giving him private interviews and asking his advice. This alarmed his vizier Ibn Mahmud, who began to be afraid of the other. So when Daisam made preparations for battle with Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq, he committed his stores and baggage

¹ See above, ii. 37, where he had retired into honourable captivity.

to the care of Ibn Mahmud, who was ordered to remove them to the Muqan hills and entrench himself there remaining in preparation till the event was decided. Taking charge of the whole Ibn Mahmud went off to Ardabil, whither he sent word to Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq that he was about to join him, requesting that a detachment of Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq's army should be sent to meet him. Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq gratefully complied. This was a serious injury to Daisam, whom the news reached on the day of the engagement, and who was in consequence discouraged and embarrassed. His followers perceiving this also were troubled, and the consequence was that Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq got an advantage over Daisam and routed him.

YEAR 340.¹

In this year Rukn al-daulah came up with Ibn Qaratakin, retainer of the ruler of Khorasan, and fought a battle with him for seven days continuously in Rudhbar of Khan Lanjan. It took place in Muharram of this year and resulted in the defeat of Ibn Qaratakin.

The Ustadh Abu 'Ali Ahmad b. Mohammed author of this work observes: Most of what I am about to narrate after this year is what I have witnessed myself, or else taken from the statements of informants whose testimony I regard as equally certain. For example such a personage as the Ustadh ABU'L-FADL MOHAMMED B. HUSAIN B. AL-'AMID told me the story of this and other battles, his tactics and the occurrences therein, and his information is equal to the evidence of my own eyes in the matter of trustworthiness and absolute credibility; such a person as ABU MOHAMMED MUHALLABI related to me most of what happened in his time, and that during a long series of interviews and conversations. Many eminent contemporaries of theirs likewise told me things

¹ Began June 9, 951.

whence experience can be gained. I shall record all of this that my memory retains, as well as what I have myself witnessed and experienced—if God will.

I was told about this battle by the chief Ustadh Abu'l Fadl (137) Ibn al-'Amid, but will first narrate the cause of Ibn Qaratakin's expedition.

Account of the cause of Ibn Qaratakin's expedition to Rayy.

Rukn al-daulah at the time of his brother 'Imad al-daulah's death was in the regions of Jurjan, having attacked and defeated Washmagir, and pursued him as far as *Halus* (?). When he heard of his brother's death he was troubled and distressed, feeling sure that Fars would rebel against his son's government. He hastily proceeded thither to settle matters, retiring in the first place to Rayy, where he appointed 'Ali b. Kamah as his viceroy. The pressure on his enemies was relaxed by his absence from his domains, and each of them promised himself some advantage from it. Rukn al-daulah wrote to Mu'izz al-daulah to explain his plans and the consequence of their brother's death, and Mu'izz al-daulah wrote to his vizier Saimari, who was at the time engaging 'Imran b. Shahin in the Marshes, bidding him abandon the task whereon he was engaged and proceed to Fars to assist Rukn al-daulah. Saimari complied, and arrived in Fars before Rukn al-daulah, thereby favourably impressing Rukn al-daulah. When the latter reached Shiraz, he began by visiting his brother's grave at the Istakhr Gate, walking thither barefoot and uncovered, as also did the members of his army and that of Fars. He mourned incessantly for three days; an appeal was then made to him by the leading men to return to the city, and he complied, remaining six months. He transmitted a portion (138) of 'Imad al-daulah's estate to Mu'izz al-daulah; this contained 170 retainers, a hundred loads of armour, and the apparel and weapons appertaining thereto. He appropriated the district of

Arrajan (one of the provinces of Fars), adding it to his own dominions, and leaving his vizier there, returned to Rayy.

Meanwhile the appetite of those whom I have mentioned was whetted, and they aspired to the possession of Rayy, the Jabal and Ispahan. Armies were on the move in these directions. Thus the commander of the army of Khorasan marched against Rayy accompanied by MOHAMMED B. MAKAN sent by Hasan b. Fairuzan,¹ while SHIRAZ B. LAILA was sent by Washmagir, followed by the mass of the Khorasanite host.

Now Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Kamah had retreated to Ispahan, while the officers of Ibn Qaratakin's army had been distributed as governors among the provinces of the Jabal. One of these, YANAL QAM, was in Hamadhan, and similar officials in all the cities of the Jabal. While Rukn al-daulah was yet in Fars he had written to his brother Mu'izz al-daulah to ask for some one who should put a stop to the mischief done by these governors. Mu'izz al-daulah sent to his assistance the Chamberlain Sabuktakin at the head of a great army of Turks and Dailemites, containing some of the veterans who had served Tuzun, with a number of Arabs. He started from Baghdad in the year 339, and made excellent dispositions.

Account of a sound stratagem whereby Sabuktakin got into his power the first enemy whom he met in Qarmisin.

Sabuktakin decided to leave behind his infantry and heavy baggage, and make a nightly expedition to Qarmisin with some picked cavalry on whom he relied. Here there was a Turkish officer from Khorasan named BACHKAM KHUMARTAKINI, who had been sent by Yanal Qam from Hamadhan as governor of the place. Sabuktakin surprised him in his bath and took him prisoner, at the same time overpowering his followers

¹ Above, ii. 132.

and troops. He was despatched by his captor to Mu'izz al-daulah, who confined him for a long time and then released him. When the news of what had happened to this Bachkam (139) reached the governors of the Jabal provinces, they quitted their posts and all joined Yanal Qam in Hamadhan. As Sabuktakin advanced in their direction, they evacuated Hamadhan in a body, declining an engagement. Sabuktakin then entered Hamadhan and stayed there to await Rukn al-daulah, from whom he was receiving despatches to the effect that he (Rukn al-daulah) was marching from Fars by the Jabal road. Rukn al-daulah delayed his arrival waiting for the melting of the snows, but presently reached Hamadhan, where he bade Sabuktakin march in the van. The Tuzuni Turks mutinied in Hamadhan complaining of their long sojourn there; the chief Ustadh Ibn al-'Amid endeavoured to mediate, and succeeded in mollifying them for the moment, but they broke about afresh the next day, and the murmuring continued till they became objects of suspicion.

I heard IBN AL-'AMID recount as follows:—I said to the Prince Rukn al-daulah: These Turks are our enemies, who have declared war against us; how can we lead them against our enemies?—So we agreed between us to try pacifying them; if we failed in our attempt, then we should fight them, and so have done with the nearer enemy. When we made up our minds to this, the Turks determined upon war. We defeated them and they fled in confusion. Information of their conduct had reached Mu'izz al-daulah in good time, so he wrote to IBN ABI'L-SHAUK the Kurd and other Kurdish chieftains resident in the district of *Hulwan*, bidding them pursue these Turks and overwhelm them. They complied; they pursued the Turks, killed some and captured others. The prisoners were despatched by the Kurdish leader to Baghdad; the fugitives found their way to Mausil in a wretched plight.

Rukn al-daulah remained in Hamadhan endeavouring to ascertain the plans of Ibn Qaratakin till he received certain information that the latter was marching from Rayy towards Hamadhan. Sending out spies and scouting parties to ascertain his movements, he received intelligence that Ibn Qaratakin had left the Hamadhan road and was on that which led to Ispahan. Rukn al-daulah followed his track and reached Jurbadhaqan. Meanwhile Ibn Qaratakin had arrived in Ispahan, where he did great damage so long as he stayed there; then learning the propinquity of Rukn al-daulah,¹ he departed in the direction of a desert near Ispahan, (140) and leaving it encamped on Zarin Rudh, in order that Rukn al-daulah by the time he came up with him (Ibn Qaratakin) should have traversed the desert with his troops, who would then be fatigued and thirsty, and be unable to get at the water. Rukn al-daulah decided to turn off in the direction of Khan Lanjan, in order to keep to the line of the villages which lay on the Zarin Rudh, so that water might not fail. News of this reaching Ibn Qaratakin, he abandoned his position, and went to cross Rukn al-daulah's line of march, for fear of being taken in the rear.

The armies met at a place called Rudhbar,² where they were separated by the Zarin Rudh, which however was low, and interfered with the passage of neither cavalry nor infantry, owing to the summer season. The engagement lasted seven days, and was at its fiercest on the sixth; on the seventh day Ibn Qaratakin took to flight.

We now resume the narrative of the battle communicated by Ibn al-'Amid. He, Rukn al-daulah, and the whole host, he said, found themselves in a state of stress,

¹ Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 200, makes the distance between Jurbadhaqan and Ispahan 34 parasangs.

² A common place-name in Persia. The place meant here is identical with none of those in modern maps of Persia, but with the Rudhbar of Ispahan mentioned by Yaqut.

of which they had had no previous experience, owing to the complete failure of provisions whether for themselves or their beasts. The reason was, he said, that we were surrounded by the Kurds, so that none of us dared to protrude his head from the camp. All supplies had stopped ; the only food at which we could get was what was brought by the Kurds and sold to us at extortionate prices ; and the same was the case with the provender. A Kurd would bring us a sack, nose-bag or vessel containing flour, and when we emptied the receptacle, we found that the amount of flour therein was what we saw at the top, all below being earth. The small amount of flour was mixed with earth and so was useless. The same would be done with barley and wheat ; and they had many tricks of the kind. So we used to slaughter a camel or a horse, and share the meat between a great number of men, thus keeping ourselves alive with Dailemite endurance of hunger and doggedness in war. Our enemies the Turks were in like plight, but their endurance was not equal to ours, nor were they satisfied with what satisfied us. (141) Where we slaughtered one camel, they would slaughter a number. Then when the engagement came our people would be as keen as ever, whereas the others would grumble and mutiny against their commander and fight halfheartedly, till finally they grew tired of fighting altogether, and we woke one morning to find that they had deserted their camp, leaving their tents facing us. News came of their departure, but we would not believe it, till a party of our troops crossed, and these were followed by the rest of the army gradually. We were afraid that they might have arranged an ambush or other stratagem ; but it was a rout pure and simple ; they had just decamped.

Account of a strange story and a surprising coincidence.

It was stated by the Ustadh Ibn al-'Amid that on the seventh day, when the patience of Rukn al-daulah and

that of his followers was exhausted, Rukn al-daulah summoned him, and complained to him of the severity of the engagement and the difficulty that he experienced. He seemed to be excogitating some excuse for flight, but unable to discover one. I said to him: Prince, a week ago you were master of most of the Caliph's dominions, and your word was law in most of the Islamic lands; and in the rest of the world such kings as were not actually your subjects and vassals were nevertheless under your control owing to the terror which you inspired. This moment all the land you own is that which is covered by your tents, and here are your enemies gathered together for the purpose of wresting that remainder from your grasp. There is no refuge for you except God Almighty, so purify your heart to Him, and make, in secret communion with Him, a resolve whose sincerity and earnestness He may know, to do good to the Moslem community and to all mankind; vow solemnly that you will without fail do good works and kind deeds to all over whom you may have authority in any land that may fall under your authority. Human expedients are all exhausted and none remain us save that to which I bid you resort.—He smiled and said: Abu'l-Fadl, I had resorted to that expedient before you spoke. I have already made such resolves and such sincere intentions on this matter as might be expected.—We passed the night (142) as usual, and in the third watch his messengers came to me in a train. I went to him and found him in excellent spirits, very unlike the state wherein I had last seen him.—Abu'l-Fadl, he said, you know how veracious my dreams are. I have just seen one of which I hope the interpretation may be not far-fetched but obvious.—What was it? I asked.—I seemed, he replied, to see myself mounted on my horse FIROZ; the enemy had fled; you were riding at my side, and reminding me of God's favour to us therein, and how victory had come to us from an

unexpected quarter. Whilst we were engaged in this talk and the like, I directed my eye to the ground athwart the dust of the cavalcade ; and I said to the squire who was in front of me : Lad, pick up that ring. He bent down and raised it to me, and it proved to be a turquoise (*firozah*) ring ; I took it and put it on my forefinger, and thought myself lucky to possess it. Then I woke up, and this is so good an omen that I feel certain of victory. —(This was because the Persian name for Turquoise means “ victory,” as also does that of the horse which he saw in the dream.)¹

Ibn al-'Amid continued : Now most certainly day had not dawned before the good news came of the enemy's retirement. We were incredulous, and paid no attention to the story till it came repeatedly, and some swift riders crossed the river and then returned to us congratulating themselves. Then we mounted and rode in bewilderment, not knowing the cause of his flight ; and we crossed, taking precautions against an ambush or other stratagem. Whilst we were riding, I being at the side of Rukn al-daulah, who had intentionally mounted his horse Firoz in order to verify his dream, suddenly the Prince called out to a retainer who was in front of him : My lad, hand me that ring !—The retainer bent and picked up from the ground *a turquoise ring*, which Rukn al-daulah proceeded to take and set on his forefinger. Turning to me he said : This is the very ring about which I talked to you an hour ago ! No interpretation is required.

This is a strange story ; and were it not for the veracity of its narrator and the high authority of the person who repeated it to me, a man most unlikely to have exaggerated, I should not have incorporated it in this book.²

¹ Cp. Ammianus Marcellinus xix. 2, cited by Lebeau-St. Martin, ii. 296, where Sapor is called *Pyroses*, quod “ *Bellorum victor* ” interpretatur.

² From a story which will be told later of the way wherein Rukn al-daulah rescued himself from a difficult situation it is likely that he invented the dream and himself saw to its realisation.

(143) In this year peace was ratified between Mu'izz al-daulah and 'Imran b. Shahin. 'Imran was invested by Mu'izz al-daulah with the government of the Marshes, and his brothers and dependents were released. Similarly 'Imran released such officers, etc., as he had captured.

Ibn Qaratakin resumed the conflict with Rukn al-daulah, and some severe engagements took place between them in the neighbourhood of Rayy. Presently Ibn Qaratakin died a sudden death. He had been drinking incessantly for some days and nights, and one morning was found dead. This was in Rabi'ii of this year (began Sep. 6, 951).

In this year the ruler of Oman¹ was defeated by Muhallabi at the gates of Basrah; many of his followers were taken prisoner and a number of his boats captured. Muhallabi made an entry into Baghdad bringing the boats and the prisoners.

YEAR 341.²

In this year the Byzantines obtained possession of the city of Saruj, burned the mosques and made captives of the inhabitants.

In this year the Prince Mu'izz al-daulah had Muhallabi scourged in his presence; after this he had him carried home. He retained him however as secretary.

Account of the reason for this.

When Muhallabi had made his expedition against 'Imran and those events took place which resulted in his defeat,³ Mu'izz al-daulah was vexed with him, and meditated arresting him. This plan was put out of his mind by what took place in Rayy, which, as has been

¹ Yusuf b. Wajih, see below.

² Began May 29, 952.

³ Above, ii. 129.

seen, was invaded by an army from Khorasan. Now ABU'L-'ABBAS HANNAT¹ had arrived at the metropolis bearing a message from Rukn al-daulah with a demand for money to be transmitted. Necessity compelled Mu'izz al-daulah to write to the vizier Muhallabi, who was in Wasit, whither he had come after his defeat, with the order to shift to Ahwaz, and pay a million dirhems to (144) Hannat from the fort there, to be replaced by him out of the taxes he was to collect. He was to transmit money continually to the capital, and despatch the forces which were in Ahwaz *via* Ispahan to Rayy. All this was carried out by Muhallabi, but Mu'izz al-daulah still harboured the feelings towards Muhallabi which have been described. By the time when Muhallabi returned to the metropolis, he had dealt a severe blow to Yusuf b. Wajih, ruler of Oman, who had attacked Basrah, but been anticipated by Muhallabi, who defeated him in an engagement, and, as has been recorded already, made prisoners of his followers and captured his boats.

Account of the reason why Ibn Wajih hoped to seize Basrah and of his failure in the attempt.

We have narrated above² the dissatisfaction of the Qarmatians with Mu'izz al-daulah and his contemptuous reply to their message. When Ibn Wajih heard of this, he wrote to them and suggested to them an attack on Basrah, requesting their aid on the land side. They sent their brother Abu Ya'qub³ to assist him at the head of a powerful expeditionary force, with which he advanced to the gate of Basrah, while Ibn Wajih embarked his troops in ships with which he approached the city from the sea side. This was coincident with Muhallabi's finishing what he had to do in Ahwaz. He accordingly hurried to Basrah, taking with him an adequate number of officers and troops, whom he embarked in *zabzabs*,

¹ Last heard of i. 354 ; see i. 303.

² See above, ii. 112.

³ See above, ii. 56.

barges, and other rivercraft, having equipped them with offensive and defensive arms. Mu'izz al-daulah also reinforced him from Baghdad. Muhallabi had disposed his troops on the wall of Basrah to defend it, and gathered round himself the chief officers, such as Lashkarwarz b. Sahlan, Musa Fayadhah, Musa b. Makan, and their like, with the classes of retainers. He engaged Ibn Wajih for a number of days, and ultimately routed him, getting possession of his boats and his troops. Among his captives were some of the leading followers of Ibn Wajih. By this victory he somewhat lessened the resentment of Mu'izz al-daulah, who was relieved of serious anxiety.

When Muhallabi returned to Baghdad, he was met by Mu'izz al-daulah, who for a short time treated him with respect. Presently *Tazad* was unable to produce (145) a considerable sum due by his contract¹ which had been allocated to the Turks and necessary expenditure. He repudiated these allocations, and the persons who had a claim to the money clamoured for it, to the vexation of Mu'izz al-daulah, who demanded it of Muhallabi. He importuned *Tazad*, who declared himself unable to do anything in the matter.² The business now assumed a grave complexion; Muhallabi went to see Mu'izz al-daulah, and gave him a true account of the situation; the latter was vexed by the vizier's inability to cope with it, and his slumbering resentment was aroused. He rebuked the vizier, forbidding him to come to him again until he should be summoned. Muhallabi departed in a gloomy mood, and brought pressure to bear on *Tazad*, who then produced a certain sum. The vizier rushed to Mu'izz al-daulah, not having received a summons from the prince, in order to evoke his admiration of *Tazad's* conduct. When he appeared in the prince's presence, and explained the situation,

¹ As farmer of the revenue of Wasit, above ii. 114.

² This seems to be the sense.

the latter assaulted him, and inflicted on him a hundred and fifty lashes, which reduced the vizier to a state of exhaustion. The prince then ordered the scourging to stop, so that he might rate the vizier and reproach him with the faults which he had committed since he had been taken into the prince's service, after which he repeated the scourging till the vizier was a broken man and unconscious, and the prince was told that he was nearly dead. The prince at first wanted him to be thrown into the Tigris ; he refrained however and sent him home to be under guard. The following day he sent for *Tazad* and had him also scourged. He meant to discharge *Muhallabi*, but at the time could find no one at his court with whom he was satisfied as minister, and after repeated changes of mind and examination of various courses found that there was no-one to replace *Muhallabi*.¹

Now *Muhallabi* was a brave and strong-minded man. unmoved by misfortune ; he proceeded to draw up a memoir showing the existence of arrears to the amount of 13,000,000 dirhems not yet collected from the provinces and dependencies. He sent this memoir to *Mu'izz al-daulah* offering to undertake the collection of these arrears, but adding that if he were kept indefinitely under arrest, the sums would arouse the cupidity of various persons and be dissipated. *Mu'izz al-daulah* consulted his courtiers, among whom was *ABU MAKHLAD 'ABDALLAH B. YAHYA*,² about this proposal, asking whether it was possible to repose confidence in a man whom he had so grossly ill-treated. *Abu Makhlad* replied : *Mardawij* scourged *his* vizier *Abu Sahl* yet more severely, and was as sorry for what he had done as you are. He then gave him a robe of honour, and restored him to his office, he being unable to walk in

¹ In the *Table-talk* there is a story of *Muhallabi* being scourged on another occasion.

² He had been minister to *Mardawij*, i. 316.

consequence of the scourging which he had undergone, so that he had to be carried in a litter. On his way money was showered (146) upon him, but he could not sit up without assistance. He remained in office for a time, and presently Mardawij grew angry with him again, cashiered him and took his life.—In consequence of these representations Mu'izz al-daulah sent to Muhallabi, bidding him sail to him when he was well enough to do so, and withdrew the guard which had been set on him. Muhallabi hardened himself, and after a few days sailed, when he received a robe of honour and was restored to his office.

Mu'izz al-daulah was ferocious, irascible and foul-mouthed, constantly reviling his viziers and most dignified courtiers, and trumping up charges against them. Muhallabi had to endure intolerable insult and outrage from him, but bore it all with the appearance of nonchalance. When he returned to his house, I, who was his companion at the time, could see no trace in him of what he had been hearing. He would sit and converse in the best of spirits. Indeed I once heard Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit,¹ who was his deputy and on friendly terms with him, remonstrate with him on the subject, saying among other things : If the prince finds out how cheerful you are and how little you are affected by his wrath and the abuse which he showers upon you, he will attribute your conduct to contempt of him, and this will make him the more anxious to hurt you. Whereas if you were to adopt an attitude of despair and self-abasement, and he were told that you were mourning and despondent, most likely he would regret his insolence and refrain from his customary abuse and reviling of you.—Muhallabi replied : I have myself thought of what you say, only he is a hare-brained and hasty prince, who has no control over his tongue. Were I to display annoyance at his tirades, he would imagine that I had become

¹See above, ii. 54.

disaffected towards him, and would no longer give him loyal advice ; he would suspect me of intentions which had not entered into my mind, and the consequence would be my ruin and disgrace. The only plan is to take no notice and smile sweetly at him, when it is possible ; if it be not possible for fear of enraging him, the only thing is to avoid thinking about it. And Muhallabi was about right.

I was told by the late ABU BAKR IBN ABI SA'ID that at the time when Mu'izz al-daulah was staying in Basrah and defeating Baridi,¹ he trumped up a charge against Muhallabi, and accused him to his face with foul language. (147) Mafarukhi² was there, and (said Ibn Abi Sa'id) when we left his presence, said to me : It annoyed me that such foul language should be used in my presence to the vizier. How can he best be consoled ?—He wanted to avoid the suspicion of gloating over his misfortune or being looked upon as one who was aware that he had been insulted by the prince. I said : Silence on such an occasion is better than speech.—He therefore kept silence for some days, and refrained from visiting the vizier except in company at times when he was generally accessible. Presently it happened that Mafarukhi went to see him on business, accompanied by me. We found him in a state of perplexity. Mafarukhi said : I observe that the vizier is embarrassed ; has anything fresh happened ?—He said : Oh, I notice that for some days the prince has been withholding his customary compliments. I am afraid some trouble that has befallen him may be occupying his mind, and that is what makes me pensive.—Abu Bakr Ibn Abi Sa'id continued : When we had come away, Mafarukhi said to me : Have you ever seen an astuter diplomatist than him ?—I admitted that I had not.

¹ *i.e.* Abu'l-Qasim ; see above, ii. 112.

² See i. 382, etc.

In this year ABU MAKHLAD and ABU BAKR 'ABD AL-WAHID B. ABI 'AMR SHARABI, chamberlain of the Caliph Muti' proceeded to the ruler of Khorasan to arrange terms of peace between the Buwaihid princes and him, carrying a letter in the Caliph's name.

YEAR 342.¹

In this year ABU'L-FADL 'ABBAS B. FASANJAS died in Basrah, and the presidency of the bureau was given (148) to his son ABU'L-FARAJ MOHAMMED, at his father's salary.

In it Mu'izz al-daulah's son prince Abu Ishaq Ibrahim was born on the night of Friday 9 Jumada i (Sep. 21, 953)² under the control of the Sheaf.

In it there arrived Abu Salim Daisam b. Ibrahim the Kurd, fleeing from Adharbaijan, where he had been routed by the Salar Marzuban, who, as we have recorded,³ had been taken prisoner by Rukn al-daulah and confined in the fortress Samiram. He contrived however to get his fetters removed, kill his warder and escape, as we shall presently narrate. Returning to Adharbaijan he was joined by the Dailemites who were in Daisam's service, and Daisam, evacuating the province, came to the metropolis to implore the protection and the aid of Mu'izz al-daulah, who treated him with great respect, assigned him high rank, took pleasure in his society, and sent him presents of money and apparel. He addressed him in letters as "Our brother Abu Salim."

Account of the reason for Daisam's evacuation of Adharbaijan after he had gained possession of it, and of his defeat at the hands of Marzuban.

We have told the story of Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq and how he gained possession of Adharbaijan on behalf of

¹ Began May 18, 953.

² A Wednesday according to Wüstenfeld.

³ Above, ii. 131.

Rukn al-daulah.¹ Now it so happened that he offended a secretary who had accompanied him from Khorasan by selecting for his vizier IBN MAHMUD,² who had on a former occasion helped him with money and was well acquainted with the district. The secretary took offence, but proceeded no further till he was sent to collect taxes in Daisam's neighbourhood, taking an armed force with him.³ So soon as he got an opportunity, he entered into correspondence with Daisam and deserted to him with his whole force.

Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq grew weary of Adharbaijan and returned to Rayy, taking with him Ibn Mahmud. Daisam proceeded to Ardabil, where the secretary representing the Khorasan government requested his permission to return to his own country, which was granted by Daisam, who bestowed on him robes of honour and rewards. His affairs were administered by ABU 'ABDALLAH NU'AIMI⁴ and IBN AL-SAGR the Christian,⁵ he was joined by Dailemites and Kurds in large numbers, and made himself master of Adharbaijan and its towns. He collected (149) the revenue, and the towns capitulated to him. He obtained possession of Nashawa and Dabil, which had been seized by AL-FADL B. JA'FAR HAMDANI and IBRAHIM B. AL-DABI. His affairs prospered and were in good order. Presently it came to pass that Ibn al-Sagr died, and out of his estate Daisam obtained 100,000 dirhems, though there was a large sum left which he declined to claim. Nu'aimi then became sole vizier. Daisam's affairs continued to prosper till he began to covet the wealth of Nu'aimi, whom he proceeded to arrest, putting in his place a secretary named 'ALI B.

¹ Above, ii. 136.

² His name was Ahmad b. 'Abdallah Abu Ja'far.

³ The armed forces wherewith taxes were extorted are mentioned in the Table-talk.

⁴ See above, ii. 35.

⁵ See above, ii. 186.

'ISA. Nu'aimi however contrived to *get into communication with Daisam, and agreed to*¹ give his bond for all that Daisam demanded, with the utmost complaisance, making no opposition. He then said: If you will restore me to my post, and surrender to me my deputy 'Ali b. 'Isa, I will pay over to you out of his funds and mine a million dirhems in addition to the composition-money. Daisam, whose cupidity was aroused by this offer, restored Nu'aimi to his post, arrested 'Ali b. 'Isa, and surrendered him to the other.

During these days Marzuban had gained possession of the fortress wherein he was imprisoned, Samiram, killing his jailor SHIRASFAR. 'Ali b. Mishaki, called Bullaka, who had been captured at the same time,² also escaped from Rukn al-daulah's prison, and getting away to the Jabal, collected a great force. Entering into correspondence with the Dailemites who were with Daisam, he endeavoured to win them over; he then journeyed till he was in the neighbourhood of Marzuban's brother Wahsudhan, and these two together plotted against Daisam. Presently letters arrived from Marzuban, announcing his escape from the fortress; he addressed letters to all the Dailemites in Adharbaijan. Daisam knew nothing of all this except the operations of 'Ali b. Mishaki, whom he fancied to be his sole opponent.

There now arrived in Ardabil a sister's son of his (Daisam's), named GHANIM, who was to be attached to his vizier Nu'aimi, and collect from him the sums which the vizier had promised on his own account and that of his deputy 'Ali b. 'Isa. Daisam unthinkingly left the place with his Dailemite followers, and Nu'aimi got the opportunity for putting into execution the plan which he had in mind. He poisoned the mind of Ghanim

¹ The italicised words are conjecturally supplied.

² See above, ii. 133.

against (150) his uncle Daisam, tortured 'Ali b. 'Isa to death, and deserted to 'Ali b. Mishaki, taking with him all the money which he could procure.

Daisam, hearing of this, returned to Ardabil, after he had got as far as Zanjan. The Dailemites mutinied; he however drew out all his treasures, gold ornaments and others, and went off to Bardha'ah to amuse himself and to hunt. He supposed that his sole enemy was 'Ali b. Mishaki, and had no news of Marzuban. He had sent into Armenia emissaries who were to secure the loyalty of its kings, Ibn al-Dairani, Ibn Gagik, and his brother *Hamzah*, Ibn Sabat¹ and others, as a possible refuge in case of disaster overtaking him.

News reached him that 'Ali b. Mishaki was advancing to Ardabil with a small force, in the belief that the Dailemites who were with Daisam would desert to him. Daisam thereupon turned back to Ardabil, and an engagement took place, wherein the Dailemites turned their shields round towards his face,² and went over to the side of 'Ali b. Mishaki, with the exception of Justan b. Sharmzan. This person stood loyally by Daisam, and was arrested by the Dailemites. Daisam fled with a few Kurdish followers to Armenia, where the kings sent him sufficient for his maintenance. In Armenia he received news of the escape of Marzuban from the fortress of Samiram wherein he had been confined, his arrival in Ardabil and seizure of the fortresses and treasures: further that he had despatched 'Ali b. Mishaki at the head of an army to pursue Daisam. Daisam was therefore unable to remain, and fled to Mausil and thence to Baghdad, whither he arrived in 342, and was honourably received by Mu'izz al-daulah, who placed

¹ Gagik Ardzruni died in 936 (A.H. 324). He was followed by his son Derenik, ob. 959 (A.H. 348). According to Gfroerer iii. 417, he was succeeded in 953 by his brother "Abusal-Hamazab," which is likely to be a corruption for Abu Sahl *Hamzah*, the person to whom allusion is made here. Ibn Sabat probably means Abu Sabat, ruler of Manzikert, Gfroerer iii. 353.

² This expression is proverbial.

him in the highest rank, granted what he desired, bestowed on him various gifts and tokens of kindness, and offered him a fief producing 50,000 dinars annually, if he would remain in the capital. He remained for a short time, enjoying the utmost luxury and comfort. He used afterwards to say to his secretaries and dependents: My happiest and healthiest days were those of my residence in Baghdad.

Presently his dependents in Adharbaijan wrote letters which deceived him and awoke his desire to be an independent ruler. So he departed from Baghdad, being well supplied by Mu'izz al-daulah with money, wearing apparel, horses and boats. (151) He took the direction of Syria to visit Saif al-daulah on his way; leaving him, he changed to the direction of Armenia, and went to visit Ibn al-Dairani and Ibn Gagiq¹ owing to the confidence which he had formerly had in this prince, with whom he had deposited a treasure. Marzuban wrote to the Armenian bidding him arrest Daisam; the Armenian procrastinated, but was ultimately compelled to carry out the order to arrest Daisam, only begging that he might not be compelled to surrender him to Marzuban; and to this Marzuban agreed. Ibn al-Dairani contrived a stratagem to get Daisam into his power and place him under arrest. When this had been done, Marzuban, in violation of what had been stipulated, wrote ordering the Armenian to send Daisam to his capital. The Armenian again procrastinated, but was ultimately forced to surrender him. After keeping him in confinement for a time in his palace, Marzuban ordered him to be blinded; after Marzuban's death Daisam was killed by one of Marzuban's dependents who feared his vengeance.

¹ The context implies that one person is meant; the correct names would be Deranik son of Gagiq.

Account of the plan whereby Marzuban outwitted the commander of the fortress of Samiram and succeeded in escaping and returning to his kingdom in Adharbaijan.

When Marzuban was confined in the fortress, he abstained from food and drink, especially meat and the like, restricting himself to a little wheaten food, which also he took with caution. Rukn al-daulah, hearing of this, ordered his confidential cook to be sent to him, to take charge as before of his meat and drink. This cook was introduced into the fortress and Marzuban began to devise plans for escaping with his aid. The cook however was a frivolous and lightheaded man, and permitted his intentions to be discovered. The governor of the fortress, Shirasfar, learning of this, had him flung from the summit of the fortress, so that he died, and made the confinement of Marzuban additionally strict. Now Marzuban's mother, Kharasuyah daughter of Justan b. Wahsudhan, the king,¹ kept offering sums of money to those who would procure news of him, and devising plans for his release. Ibrahim, called Ibn al-Dabi, who has already been mentioned,² was in Daisam's prison, but succeeded in escaping. Finding no other refuge, he went to Kharasuyah and sought her protection; he undertook to get into communication with Marzuban, and she gave him a supply of money and sent him. There was in Maraghah a man called TUBAN, (152) who wrestled, gambled, and was mixed up in all sorts of illegal enterprises; finding himself pursued by the police of Maraghah, he took fright and absconded. He then made his way to Kharasuyah, and offered his services in the matter of her son. She was attracted by his hardihood, supplied him with money, and informed him that al-Dabi had preceded him on a like errand. These two men, Ibn al-Dabi and Tuban, met, attired themselves as

¹ See Tabari iii. 1686.

² Above, ii. 149.

traders, and made a great show of honesty, piety and integrity. Haunting the court of the fortress, they sent to inform Shirasfar that they were traders who in times past had done business with Marzuban, who had taken their wares and the goods of other merchants, and they requested the governor to confront them with Marzuban, in order to obtain the performance of his promises written and sealed to satisfy their demands and those of the others. They lavished benedictions on the governor and imprecations on Marzuban, whom they cursed and reviled: Glory be to God, they said, who has saved mankind from the wickedness of this miscreant, who neither knows of God nor believes in his blessed Prophet!¹ With this and similar language they finally moved Shirasfar to introduce them one at a time to Marzuban, but not together. Marzuban declared that he did not know them. They then used coarse and violent language to him, and bade him fear God and the awful consequences. Finally he said: I know of no account of theirs, still I will write that their accounts should be dealt with. They repeated their visit a number of times, and were reinforced by Marzuban's mother with WASIF the Dailemite, the Veiled, another man named ABU'L-HASAN IBN JINNI, and a number of inhabitants of Tarm, in the guise of traders. They conveyed gratuities to Shirasfar and his dependents, and to the janitor of the fortress, who purchased their goods, and to whom they promised large sums if they would help them to get at their money and merchandise.² All the time they kept complaining of the iniquities and robberies of Marzuban, to whom they were allowed separate access, and conveyed letters, obtaining his replies. On these visits too they secretly conveyed to him a number of dinars, which he could give away or spend on what he needed.

¹ Marzuban was called a *Bafini*, above, ii. 32.

² Which Marzuban was supposed to be detaining.

Now Shirasfar the governor of the fortress had a handsome beardless slave-lad, who bore his shield (153) in Dailemite fashion. Marzuban professed to be passionately in love with this lad, to whom he secretly made present after present, and whom he promised a great career and grand appointments if he (Marzuban) escaped. Allured by these prospects the lad entered into all his plans, brought him a cuirass in a basket of earth with a number of knives, and a candle containing a set of files, and devised with him a number of expedients. The men who were masquerading as traders made show of piety, devoutness and self-abasement, and coming to the gate of the fortress would be introduced by the janitor singly until by secret agreement between the lad and the prisoner the plot was brought off. They had arranged that on a particular day when Shirasfar visited the prisoner, the lad should at the prisoner's demand hand the prisoner the shield and spear which belonged to his master. He had also instructed some of the "traders" to be with the janitor and strike him down when the prisoner cried to them. When the appointed day arrived, Tuban, who was the boldest of the conspirators, was admitted to Marzuban, while another sat with the janitor, meaning to strike him down, when he heard the cry. The others sat down near the gate, meaning to enter when they got the chance.

When Shirasfar visited the prisoner according to a practice which he had followed, Marzuban had by this time gradually filed through the pin of his fetter, and had on that day put on his cuirass over which he wrapped his garment. He had previously repeatedly appealed to Shirasfar to release him, promising him great things if he would; only Shirasfar regularly declined, declaring that he would never break faith with Rukn al-daulah, but barring that would do all he could to alleviate the imprisonment. On the appointed day Marzuban renewed his appeal, when Tuban who was present said:

In God's name deliver me from the debts which I have incurred on your account, and then return to your business.—Marzuban said to Shirasfar: You have kept me long in misery.—He then leapt up, having released his foot from the fetter, and rushed towards the door where the shield and spear were handed to him by the lad. Shirasfar sprang up hoping to seize hold of him: but Tuban pounced upon him, threw him, and slashed him with a knife which he had brought until he was killed. Marzuban cried out (154) in Dailemite fashion *ushtulum* "violence!", whereupon the man who was in the vestibule sprang on the janitor and slew him. The men who were hard by then entered and encompassed Marzuban, who was all bathed in Shirasfar's blood. The custodians of the fortress were dispersed, playing *nard*; in a panic of fear they came together and begged for amnesty; Marzuban assembled them in an apartment, removed the families of the murdered Shirasfar and the men assembled,¹ demanded the arms of the latter, and when he had taken possession of them, removed their owners from the fortress. His followers then joined him and he left the fortress to reach a place of safety.

In this year peace was settled between Rukn al-daulah and Ibn Muhtaj after numerous battles at the gate of Rayy and a three months' siege. Ibn Muhtaj returned to Khorasan.

Washmagir, as usual, had invoked the aid of the ruler of Khorasan,² who sent to his help Abu 'Ali Ibn Muhtaj³ at the head of a numerous force. Marching towards Rayy they supposed that it was a case of annihilation; Rukn al-daulah would not be able to withstand them and not a remnant would be left to him. In this belief Washmagir advanced. Rukn al-daulah was aware that he would be unable to resist these multitudes except

¹ In the governor's service.

² After Rukn al-daulah's invasion of Tabaristan, above, ii. 121.

³ We are not told how he made his peace with Nuh after the events described, ii. 124.

by procrastination and by entrenching himself where he would have to fight only on one front. Placing the town of Rayy behind him, he fought in the region called Tabarak.¹ The war lasted on, both parties holding out till the arrival of winter, when the Khorasanites flagged, and were unable to endure the hardships. They were afraid besides of the snow falling on them. So they started remonstrances and negotiations, and warlike operations dwindled. The intermediary on behalf of the Khorasanites was Abu Ja'far Khazin, author of the astronomical treatise called *Zij al-Safa'ih*, a man of great mathematical attainments. Protracted negotiations led to an armistice and then peace.

(155) Rukn al-daulah was advised to deal his enemy a death-blow, and give him no breathing space, since the peaceful inclinations of the latter were due to necessity, his patience and his money being exhausted and his troops mutinous; "whereas you have behind you such a town as Rayy, where you are safe and can obtain fresh supplies." None of his advisers thought he ought to accept peace proposals, as the enemy were clearly unwilling to fight on. In spite however of the obvious soundness of their advice, Rukn al-daulah refused to accept it; whereas, had he dealt the enemies one resolute blow, he might have annihilated them. God however knows best about the consequences of operations. So he agreed to make peace, to the extreme vexation of Washmagir, who could not expect or hope ever to assemble a greater force than that which he had mustered on this occasion.

After the departure of Ibn Muhtaj Rukn al-daulah attacked Washmagir, who was routed and could not stand before him; he was pursued by Rukn al-daulah, who drove him out of Tabaristan and Jurjan; reaching

¹ Yaqut says: Tabarak is a fort on the top of a hill near the city of Rayy on the right of him who is going to Khorasan, whereas on his left is the chief mountain of Rayy. The Seljuq Sultan Toghril, who destroyed it, compared it to a snake, with two heads, devouring 'Iraq with one, and Khorasan with the other.

Asfara'in Washmagir wrote to Nuḥ b. Nasr informing him of what had happened, and endeavouring to embitter him against Ibn Muḥtaj. The latent resentment of Nuḥ was aroused, he displaced Ibn Muḥtaj from the commandership of his army in favour of BAKR B. MALIK, and sent the latter off at the head of a vast host. This proceeding led, or rather forced, Ibn Muḥtaj to start correspondence with Rukn al-daulah, and to re-enter his service after injuries inflicted on himself, his dependents and his estate, which put an end to all confidence between him and his master so that no possibility of reconciliation between the two remained.

The Caliph wrote a letter about this peace which he transmitted by Ibn Abi 'Amr Sharabi, his Chamberlain, and Abu Makhlad 'Abdallah b. Yahya, representative of Mu'izz al-daulah. Before their messages, oral and written, could be delivered Nuḥ died, and was succeeded by his son 'ABD AL-MALIK. On their way home from Khorasan the two envoys were intercepted by the Kurd Ibn Abi'l-Shauk from Shadhinjan; this person was minister of public security in Hulwan, and was guardian of both the place and the road. He offered his services, and went out with them in the character of escort; presently (156) he broke faith, plundered the caravan which accompanied the envoys, and made Abu Makhlad prisoner. His colleague escaped. Ibn Abi'l-Shauk demanded the release of his hostages as the condition of the liberation of Abu Makhlad. The condition was accepted and both they and Abu Makhlad were set free. The Chamberlain Sabuktakin then proceeded to Hulwan to punish the Kurds. He entered the place, settled affairs with the Kurds and Ibn Abi'l-Shauk, and came home.

YEAR 343.¹

In this year Abu Salim Daisam, despairing of taining assistance from Mu'izz al-daulah, left Baghdad.

¹ Began May 7, 954.

Account of the reason why Daisam despaired of obtaining assistance from Mu'izz al-daulah.

The reason was that Rukn al-daulah made peace and a matrimonial alliance with Marzuban. The Salar (Marzuban) obtained possession of Adharbaijan; so Daisam bade Mu'izz al-daulah farewell and left his court, hoping to obtain help from Nasir al-daulah, whom he visited in Mausil, where he remained for a time. Despairing of obtaining assistance from Nasir al-daulah he proceeded to his brother Saif al-daulah, with whom also he remained for a time.

In this year Ibn Muhtaj visited Rukn al-daulah, urged by the necessity which has been mentioned. He came by way of mount Wandad-Hurmuz,¹ and was met by Rukn al-daulah, who treated him with extreme respect and entertained him and his whole party with lavish hospitality. Ibn Muhtaj requested a deed from the Caliph appointing him to the government of Khorasan. His desire was transmitted to Mu'izz al-daulah, who undertook to secure this, and actually secured it.

In this year the envoy of Ibn Muhtaj reached Baghdad and was received by Mu'izz al-daulah, who made a great gathering in his honour, and introduced him to the Caliph, who proceeded to assign to Ibn Muhtaj the governorship of Khorasan in lieu of Nuh b. Nasr, handing the envoy the deed and the robes of honour. To the envoy he attached Abu Makhlad and Ibn Abi 'Amr Sharabi, with whom Mu'izz al-daulah despatched Abu Mansur Lashkarwarz to (157) reinforce Ibn Muhtaj and assist him against Nuh. After a time a letter arrived from Ibn Muhtaj stating that he had pronounced the *khutbah* in Muti's name at Nisabur, whereas up to that time it had never been pronounced in this Caliph's name in any city of Khorasan. He also confirmed the news of Nuh's death. Intelligence arrived that when Nuh

¹ Yaqut places this on the frontier Khorasan-Tabaristan.

was in the presence of death, there was with him Ibn Malik,¹ one of his chief commanders, who had obtained control of affairs. He appointed 'Abd al-Malik son of Nuh to the government of Khorasan, while himself undertaking the command of the army in lieu of Ibn Muhtaj. He started an expedition against Ibn Muhtaj, whose followers fell away, and returned to the governor of Khorasan. There remained with Ibn Muhtaj only two hundred men besides the Dailemites who had been attached to him; he was compelled to flee before Ibn Malik. From Damaghan he sent word that he was coming to seek the protection of Rukn al-daulah, who received him with the greatest kindness, and gave him lodging in Rayy. Ibn Malik took up his quarters in Nisabur and persecuted the dependents of Ibn Muhtaj.

In this year ABZA'IJI was dismissed from the prefecture of Police in Baghdad and fined 300,000 dirhems. His office was given to TAKINAK, registrar of the Turks. Prior to the dismissal of the former he had been summoned to pay 40,000 dirhems to be retained in his prefecture with the promise of a fief, and had declined.

Account of the foolish course followed by Abza'iji, which led to the continuance of adversity, and its growing serious after it had been light.

Abza'iji was on intimate terms with ABU 'ALI the Treasurer, who took an interest in him, and when consulted, advised him to undertake no payment and consent to none of the demands made upon him. For, he said, (158) any such concession will arouse the desire for more, and will become a tax; whereas if you refuse, such prospect will be cut off, and the demand will not be renewed. Abza'iji accepted this counsel, which was well meant by Abu 'Ali, but was an error such as any man might commit, and led to Abza'iji's fall; when he

¹ See above, ii. 155.

had paid the money, and gone home, he was arrested besides and subjected to a second disaster. He was delivered to Takinak, severely tortured, and fined 250,000 dirhems more, which he paid.

In this year Rukn al-daulah accompanied by Ibn Muhtaj entered Jurjan without resistance, the province being evacuated by Washmagir, who went to Khorasan.

In this year the *khutbah* was pronounced in Meccah and the Hijaz in the names of Rukn al-daulah, Mu'izz al-daulah, Bakhtiyar, and after them that of Ibn Tughj,¹ after an engagement had been fought between the followers of Mu'izz al-daulah and the Egyptians. ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. 'UBAIDALLAH was leader of the pilgrims at Meccah on behalf of the Sultan, and took part in the battle, a son of his being killed before his eyes.

YEAR 344.²

In this year Mu'izz al-daulah bestowed the sovereignty on his son ABU MANSUR BAKHTIYAR, with the title "Prince of princes." This was in Muharram (began April 27, 955). The reason for this was that Mu'izz al-daulah was attacked by a painful complaint known as *priapismus*; Mu'izz al-daulah was despondent when he was ill, and in consequence made his will and, as we have recorded, invested his son with the chief Emirate.

'IMRAN B. SHAHIN heard that Mu'izz al-daulah was dead; and as there passed by his territory a convoy transmitting money from Ahwaz to Mu'izz al-daulah accompanied by a great caravan, wherein there was vast merchandise belonging to traders—the amount of the money on its way to Mu'izz al-daulah was 100,000 dinars, and the value of the goods many times that amount—'Imra nin accordance with his practice on such occasions, laid hands on the money and the caravan,

¹ *i.e.*, Abu'l-Qasim Anujur, who had succeeded his father in 334.

² Began April 27, 955.

seizing the whole of the valuables, and arresting (159) MUZA'BIL, boatman of Mu'izz al-daulah, who accompanied the money. 'Imran fined this person, and submitted him to such severe scourging and torture that he became paralysed. Mu'izz al-daulah then sent Abu'l-Husain Kaukabi, registrar of the family of Abu Talib, with a message to 'Imran, in consequence of which he restored the money. The goods of the traders however were forfeited, and this rupture of the peace led to the resumption of hostility.

The Chamberlain Sabuktakin had been sent¹ to Shahrazur at the head of a great force with artillery. He besieged the place for a time but was unable to take it; and as it happened that a force was despatched by the ruler of Khorasan against Rayy, it was found necessary to send Sabuktakin to the assistance of Rukn al-daulah, and the former abandoned Shahrazur having achieved nothing.

In this year the son of MAKAN made an expedition against Ispahan, which he reached by way of the desert from Khorasan. His attack being unexpected, Rukn al-daulah's son ABU MANSUR BUWAIHI with his father's family and all his followers was compelled to evacuate the place and stampede in the most disgraceful style to Khan Lanjan, and thence to the Ribat,² while the son of Makan got possession of Ispahan. The chief Ustadh, Ibn al-'Amid (God ennoble his rank!) was at the time in Arrajan. He hastened to the rescue with a detachment of Arabs and a handful of Dailemites, and found that Ibn Makan was in pursuit of Buwaihi son of Rukn al-daulah and the womenfolk who were with him, and had indeed come up with his baggage and got possession of his stores. The prince Buwaihi and the womenfolk escaped, having come near captivity and disgrace. (160) The chief

¹ By Mu'izz al-daulah against the Kurds, above, ii. 156.

² The Ribat of Barakan, seven parasangs from Khan Lanjan.

Ustadh came up with him, intercepted and gave battle to Ibn Makan in Khan Lanjan, defeated him, and took him prisoner after he had been wounded repeatedly, captured his officers, and slew a host of his followers. The Chief Ustadh had Ibn Makan and his officers conveyed into the fort of the Khan, and then proceeded to Ispahan ; after crushing the followers of Ibn Makan who were there, he brought back thither Abu Mansur Buwaihi with the womenfolk unharmed. So admirably did he repair this disaster.

Many a time did he (God have mercy upon him!) tell me the story of this battle. When we met the enemy at the Khan (he said) my followers took to flight, and those of Ibn Makan became occupied with pillaging and raiding. I stood firm myself, but only out of pride, not with any hope of victory. I simply held out like one who has resigned himself to death or captivity. For, thinking on the situation, I said to myself : Supposing I come away safe by myself and appear before my master, what sort of face shall I show him, or what sort of tongue will it be that evolves excuses for me in his presence, when I have abandoned his nearest and dearest, and in a word his kingdom ? To my notion death in those circumstances was preferable to the situation which I imagined. So I decided to die game. Now I was standing (he continued) behind a tent of mine which had two poles, and I noticed that its ropes were being cut, and its contents removed. No-one who saw me would suppose that I had any intention of holding out on that spot and in that situation. But while I was there and Ibn Makan's followers were too much occupied with the plunder to notice me, my retainer Ruain and then certain others returned to me, followed by a handful of Arabs who also came back. I made them counter-attack ; they cried Charge, and we proceeded to slaughter and take captives, no one escaping. An hour after daytime there was not left of all Ibn Makan's army

an eye that winked, except of prisoners. Ibn Makan was brought to me wounded in the hand, of which two fingers were hanging by a thin piece of skin; he stretched it out and cut them off. Whilst he was doing this before me some groom or muleteer (161) piercing the throng in his direction bestowed on him a cuff which made the place ring. He then submerged; I ordered him to be followed, meaning to make an example of him by amputating his hand. No trace however could be found of him nor has anything been heard of him to this day.

Ibn Makan besides the high esteem felt for him by the Dailemites and his lion-like courage was of enormous strength. I have myself seen his cuirass, which was very weighty; it was suggested to the strongest of the Dailemite champions to put it on, but they all refused; it was too heavy for their hands.

This year Saif al-daulah furnished Daisam with aid; helped also by certain Kurds, he went and seized Salmas, where he pronounced the *khutbah* in Saif al-daulah's name. The Salar (Marzuban) was absent at the time, in the neighbourhood of Bab al-Abwab (Derbend), where he was engaged in dealing with a local rebellion. When he had settled this, and conquered the enemy, on his return from Bab al-Abwab he attacked Daisam, whose troops deserted to the Salar. Daisam fled and sought the protection of Ibn al-Dairani, ruler of Armenia, who received him, but afterwards broke faith, arrested him, put him in fetters, and sent him to the Salar, who is said to have first blinded him and then put him to death.

In this year Ibn Muhtaj and his son both died of plague in Rayy; and peace was ratified between Rukn al-daulah and the ruler of Khorasan.

In this year ABU'L-FADL QASHANI, representative of Rukn al-daulah, came to Baghdad, accompanied by a sister's son of Ibn Malik, bringing a message from 'Abd al-Malik b. Nuh, governor of Khorasan, wherein he re-

requested that robes of honour and a banner should be sent out to him as governor of that province. The Caliph tied the banner for him and delivered it with the robes to his *commander-in-chief's* sister's son, who had brought the message, and whom he sent home with Abu'l-Fadl Qashani. The Caliph also presented him with a horse and added to the robes of a governor those of a messmate.

(162) YEAR 345. ¹

In this year Abu Mohammed Muhallabi was addressed as Vizier, an order to that effect being issued by Mu'izz al-daulah. A robe of honour was conferred on him, and his fief was increased.

In this year Ruzbahan b. Wandad-Khurshid the Dailemite rebelled against Mu'izz al-daulah, whilst his brother named Bullaka did the same in Shiraz. They openly revolted, and the other brother Asfar did the like in Ahwaz. Ruzbahan proceeded to Ahwaz, with the view of fighting the Vizier Muhallabi, who was there; the Vizier's troops deserted to Ruzbahan, and the Vizier in consequence retired. When the troops reached Mu'izz al-daulah, he could not believe it, such faith had he in Ruzbahan, who was his creature, whom he had raised from obscurity to fame and from a humble state to greatness, he having previously been an inferior official in the employ of Musa Fayadhah. Mu'izz al-daulah now sent Shirzil with the van to the war; the whole Dailemite force however broke into violent disorder against Mu'izz al-daulah, revealing complaints of delay in payment and other matters which they had been harbouring in their minds, they openly addressed him in insulting language, and began to desert. Mu'izz al-daulah appointed Abza'iji prefect of police in Wasit, whither he despatched him.

On Thursday 5 Sha'ban (Nov. 13, 956) Mu'izz al-daulah left his palace in Baghdad to proceed to the war

¹ Began April 15, 956.

with Ruzbahan ; this increased the Dailemite desertion to Ruzbahan. The Caliph Muti' also left his palace and went to join Mu'izz al-daulah, because when NASIR AL-DAULAH heard of Ruzbahan's enterprise and what had been accomplished by him and his brothers, he aspired to the possession of Baghdad, and sent two of his sons, ABU'L-MURAJJA and another, thither. Hearing of this, Mu'izz al-daulah sent the Chamberlain Sabuktakin back from Wasit to maintain the capital, and wrote to MUSAFIR B. SAHLAN,¹ who was in Nahawand in the capacity of governor, bidding him (**163**) hasten to Baghdad to join forces with the Chamberlain Sabuktakin. The Dailemites remaining in Baghdad clamoured for their pay ; Musafir, Sabuktakin and Lashkarwarz were sent to promise them that it should be paid, and they were appeased.

Musafir had taken up his quarters at the top of the Qati'ah² ; whereas Sabuktakin the Chamberlain went outside and took up his by the Shammasiyyah Gate. They were in despair about the empire. Mu'izz al-daulah kept all the Dailemites from crossing the Bridge of Arbaq with him, finding that they were deserting to Ruzbahan. He placed a guard on the Bridge to prevent their crossing it, so little confidence had he in them, and so much did he fear they might break faith and spread disorder in the rest of his host ; for indeed he was paying them, and they as soon as they received their pay immediately went over to Ruzbahan. The only Dailemites who crossed with him were LAILA³ son of Musa Fayadhah, Shirzil b. Wahri,⁴ and Hasan b. Fannakhusrah.⁵

Mu'izz al-daulah relied on his Turkish retainers. He engaged Ruzbahan on Monday the last day of Ramadan

¹ Probably a brother of Lashkarwarz.

² On the meaning of this name, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 116.

³ Mentioned in the official despatch (Letters of Ibrahim Sabi', p. 40).

⁴ B. Kundrasan, according to Sabi'.

⁵ Said *ibid.* to have deserted from Ruzbahan's side,

(Jan. 5, 957) till the sun sank. He then charged in person with his palace retainers, whom he urged on thus: My children, he said, I have brought you up as though you were my own sons, so now show your worth.—They charged with him like reckless lads whom nothing could check; Ruzbahan with his followers turned to flee, but he was taken wounded,¹ and Kurkir, Fath Lashkari and Arslan Gur were taken prisoners also.²

Story of this campaign as told by an eye-witness.

The Dailemites took offence at Mu'izz al-daulah's order preventing them from crossing. Coming to him in a body they said: If we are your troops, then order us forward to fight in front of you; we cannot endure sitting down with the lads to guard your baggage, while we see the Turks fighting for you. If you are victorious, we shall lose all the credit, and if your enemy is victorious, we shall suffer shame and insult.—It appeared however that the design of (164) this protest was treacherous; they hoped to get permission to cross the bridge, and so the opportunity to disorganize his army and desert to the enemy. He requested them to stay where they were, assuring them that his operations of the day before were merely a preliminary trial of the enemy's strength, and not a serious attack. To-morrow morning, he said, we shall attack them with our full force after due preparation, relying on God's aid.—He kept on paying them their stipends, and bestowing gifts upon them, and generally flattering them so that they left him alone. Mu'izz al-daulah then crossed, and drew up his men in bodies which relieved each other in the charges till sunset. The Turks then flagged, their tactics being exhausted, and their arrows spent. They complained to Mu'izz al-daulah, saying: We can stand no more, it is

¹ According to Sabi' he was captured by Shirzil.

² All these had previously been arrested by Mu'izz al-daulah; see above, ii., 111, 121. According to Ibrahim Sabi', p. 36, Ruzbahan released them; and Kurkir and Fath deserted to Mu'izz al-daulah in the battle.

evening, let us rest during the night, while you distribute arrows, and to-morrow morning we shall resume the fight.—Mu'izz al-daulah was certain that if he abandoned his position Ruzbahan and the Dailemites would charge, and there would be a rising on the part of his own Dailemites whom he had left in his rear, suspecting their loyalty; in that case flight would be impossible and destruction certain. Shedding tears (which he readily did) he begged the bodies of troops to collect together and charge with himself at their head. Either they would win a victory, or he would be the first to be killed.—They demanded a supply of arrows. He told them that the inferior retainers still had some, and that they were to take those and distribute them amongst themselves. These inferior retainers were mounted on blood horses and clothed with *jubbahs* and complete armour. They had asked Mu'izz al-daulah to permit them to take their turn with the bodies in charging, but he had refused, telling them that when the time came when it would be good for them to grant their request, he would do so. He now sent a sergeant to them, signalling with his hand that they were to obey the sergeant's order to them to let him take their arrows. They supposed his signal to mean that he now gave them the permission which they had asked and which he had promised; they, being fresh, charged, and their horses also were fresh; they dashed against the ranks of Dailemites, broke them, hurling one against another, and got through to the rear; Mu'izz al-daulah charged and belaboured them with clubs. This decided the day, and he sent a despatch to Baghdad,¹ announcing a victory.

(165) The Dailemites who remained in Baghdad were in consternation at the news. They declined to believe them. They supposed them to be a baseless rumour. They professed to treat the matter as a jest, saying: Doubtless they proved to be chickens; the lid was

¹ Doubtless the letter preserved in Sabi's collection.

clapped down on them and not one escaped.—They were eagerly expecting Ruzbahan. So when the report was confirmed they were despondent and downcast. Mu'izz al-daulah hastened his return, in order to reach Baghdad before the entry of Nasir al-daulah's followers. He entered Baghdad on Friday —12 Shawwal (Jan. 23, 957) and went into his palace. On the same day he sailed to the camp of the Chamberlain at the Shammasiyyah Gate in a *zabzab*, accompanied by Ruzbahan in another *zabzab*, his head being uncovered that he might be seen. In another *zabzab* was Kurkir. The people gathered on the banks, invoking blessings on Mu'izz al-daulah and curses on Ruzbahan. For indeed the populace were attached to the regime of Mu'izz al-daulah, owing to his service in repairing the breach of the Nahr Rupil¹ and that of Baduriyya. He had himself superintended the repair of the latter, carrying earth in the bosom of his *qaba*, to set an example to his whole army. After repairing this breach he went off to Nahrawanat, and repaired a breach there; both Nahrawanat and Baduriyya had been out of cultivation. When he had repaired the breaches, Baghdad became prosperous, fine bread being sold at twenty *ratls* the dirhem. Hence the populace approved of the regime of Mu'izz al-daulah and liked him personally.

The prince Mu'izz al-daulah proceeded to advance with his army to Qutrabull. Abu'l-Murajja and his brother had reached 'Ukbara, and their cavalry had got as far as Baradan.² Hearing of Mu'izz al-daulah's arrival and of the fate of Ruzbahan, they retreated from 'Ukbara to Mausil, being pursued by the Chamberlain Sabuktakin, who failed to overtake them owing to the speed at which they rode.

¹ See above, ii. 9, where the breaches are mentioned. A silly story is told by Yaqut about the origin of the name, which he spells Rufail. It can scarcely be anything but the Latin Rupilius.

² According to Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 214, Baradan is four, and 'Ukbara five parasangs from Baghdad on the Mausil road.

Ruzbahan was now imprisoned in Sarat in a fortress there. The Dailemites conceived the idea of surprising the place and rescuing him. ABU'L-ABBAS MUSAFIR therefore advised Mu'izz al-daulah (166) to put him to death. Mu'izz al-daulah disliked this measure and declined to take it till he was told by a number of his counsellors that if he did not speedily put Ruzbahan to death, the Dailemites would forcibly rescue him, and that would bring about the end of the dynasty and the loss of their lives. Ruzbahan was then removed at night and drowned from a *sumairiyyah* below the Caliph's Palace. News came presently that Ibn al-'Amid had captured Ruzbahan's brother Bullaka, and restored the throne to Rukn al-daulah's son Abu Shuja' Fannakhusrah.

The names of Ruzbahan and his brothers now sank into obscurity after they had blazed like fire, the Dailemites having joined him and his brother Bullaka in a body, and having imagined that they had transferred the empire of the Buwaihids to another family. "God's is the matter both before and after." Mu'izz al-daulah removed the Dailemites who had followed Ruzbahan from his lists, arrested a number of his officers, and neglected the rest of the Dailemites, while favouring and promoting the Turks.

He sent despatches announcing the victory to the chief cities.

YEAR 346.¹

This year news arrived of the death of the Salar Marzuban in Adharbaijan in the month Ramadan (began Nov. 26, 967). He died of a ruined constitution. When he despaired of his life, he made his will in favour of his brother WAHSUDHAN, with the arrangement that the latter should be sovereign, but be succeeded by Marzuban's son JUSTAN. He had already given orders

¹ Began April 6, 957.

to the governors who were in charge of his fortresses that in the event of anything happening to him, they should surrender them to no-one but his son Justan ; in the event of Justan's death, to his son IBRAHIM ; in that of Ibrahim's death, to his son NASIR. He had a fourth son named KAIKHUSRAH, whom, however, he did not name owing to his tender years. If none of these survive, he added, then deliver them to my brother Wahsudhan.—After giving his brother his dying instructions he informed him of the tokens arranged between him and the governors of the fortresses. Wahsudhan sent the tokens with his seal to the persons in charge of the fortresses, bidding them surrender them to him. They refused, exhibiting Marzuban's secret orders.

IBRAHIM B. MARZUBAN was married to the daughter of WALKIN B. KHURSHID, (167) a Dailemite chief. This person had been imprisoned by Marzuban's order in Ardabil ; after Marzuban's death the wife of Ibrahim appealed to him on her father's account, and induced him to go personally and release him from his prison. He rode to do this without obtaining his uncle Wahsudhan's permission. Wahsudhan took offence ; and reflecting on his brother's double-dealing in the matter of the will, and on the disloyal conduct of his nephew Ibrahim in releasing Walkin from prison without having obtained his leave, he became suspicious and left Ardabil like a fugitive for Tarm. JUSTAN took possession of his father's dominions and received the allegiance of his brothers Ibrahim and Nasir. He appointed as his vizier Abu 'Abdallah Nu'aimi, and was joined by his father's officers with the exception of Justan b. Sharmzan,¹ who delayed, hoping to make himself independent ruler of the province of Armenia where he was governor. Wahsudhan started promoting discord between the sons of his brother, setting them against each other, and encouraging their

¹ He was last seen in Daisam's service, ii. 150. The officials at this court however seem constantly to have been shifting.

enemies to attack them, with the view of avenging himself for the treatment he had received. Finally their army became disordered, and made demands of them which they were unable to meet. Wahsudhan now got them into his power, killed some of them and persecuted those whom he was unable to put to death. Thus he attained his end and was amply avenged.

In this year swellings in the throat and in particular the sort called *mashara* were prevalent in Baghdad, and many deaths were caused by both these diseases, some being sudden. Whoever was bled found that a quantity of matter which caused acute pain poured into his arm, and this was followed by acute fever, and lancing was required. No-one who was bled recovered. The winter of this year was warm and rainless. Seagoing folk asserted that the sea this year sank eighty fathoms, showing hills and islands of which they had never known nor heard before. The rise of the Tigris this year was slight, some ten cubits. In Rayy and the neighbourhood there were severe earthquakes, causing vast numbers of deaths.

(168) YEAR 347. ¹

In this year there were numerous earthquakes in Baghdad, *Hulwan*, and the cities of the *Jabal*, especially in the last. Buildings were ruined and human beings killed.

In this year the Turks and Dailemites in the service of Nasir al-daulah in *Mausil* mutinied; they marched to his palace and wished to assault him. He fought them with the aid of his retainers and of the populace, defeated them, and slew some in the encounter. He arrested others, and the remainder fled to Baghdad.

In this year Rukn al-daulah's son Abu Mansur Buwaihi arrived in Baghdad to ask for the hand of Mu'izz al-daulah's daughter, accompanied by Abu'l-Fadl

¹ Began March 25, 958.

Qashani¹ as vizier, who was escorted by ABU'L-QASIM ISMA'IL B. 'ABBAD² as epistolary secretary. On the night of Saturday 2 Jumada i (July 22, 958)³ the bride was brought to her husband, who took her to Ispahan.

In this year on Thursday 14 Jumada ii (Sep. 2, 958) Mu'izz al-daulah started on an expedition to Mausil. Crossing from the Shammasiyyah Gate to Qutrabull, he pitched his tents there, intending to attack Mausil in order to wage war against Nasir al-daulah and his sons in revenge for their having invaded (169) his dominions and having endeavoured to seize them after peace had been made and both parties had laid down their arms. Messages were interchanged and Mu'izz al-daulah ordered severe representations and remonstrances to be written in his name, which he commanded to be read, and to be answered in full.

Account of these remonstrances.

He said in these documents : *You must remember what befell you at the hands of Takin Shirzadi,⁴ how he drove you out of your fortune, and came near taking your life ; how you took refuge with me after hostilities had taken place between us, you having challenged my possession of lands whereof you owned no part. I put away resentment, forgave your offence, and preferred you to Takin, though he offered me his service and allegiance, to transmit money, and to pronounce the khutbah in my name. All he asked was that I should refrain from interfering between you and him, and give you no help against him. I preferred you ; I despatched my clerk and my army with money to be spent and supplies which I took the trouble to furnish, got Takin by the forelock and delivered him to you to wreak your*

¹ In the *Yatimah*, ii. 101, Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. Qasim Qashani seems to be identical with the person mentioned here.

² First mention of this most distinguished personage, of whom there is a particularly full biography in the *Irshad*.

³ A Thursday according to Wüstenfeld.

⁴ Above, ii. 109.

vengeance on him. Thus did you return to your home. Then you put yourself in the power of my vizier Saimari in the guise of a humble suppliant ; and he kept faith with you, though had he chosen he might have put you in bonds and seized your lands and fortresses. I supposed that you would be duly grateful for these benefits, and determine to recompense them. But your sole resolve has been to play me false and make my conduct seem unwise. Since you would not act the part of the faithful friend, would that you had assumed that of the prudent enemy! You might have written offering me your service in the great catastrophe which befell me in the person of him whom I trusted most, and volunteering your aid. You might then have sent your army to Takrit, ostensibly to reinforce mine ; then if you found that I was gaining the advantage, you could have claimed my commendation and have endeared yourself to me ; whereas if you found fortune going against me, you might have displayed your real feelings at a time when you would have more excuse and incur less blame. He appended to this some violent threats of invading his province and annihilating him.

(170) *The reply to this message.*

You are quite right in all that you have enumerated, and I acknowledge it. Only I call God to witness that it was not of my choosing or of my order. Only I am an old man with young sons who thwart my policy and follow their unbridled inclinations ; and " he has no counsel who is not obeyed."

Matters were arranged between the two, it being stipulated that Nasir al-daulah should make an immediate payment of two million dirhems, and this condition was carried out. He promised the like amount annually. Mu'izz al-daulah professed to be satisfied, being compelled to do so by the circumstances that he had no confidence in his troops, and that this civil war had disordered his affairs. So he returned to his palace.

Nasir al-daulah delayed the second payment (the first having been made in the year 6), and this time Mu'izz al-daulah started on an expedition against him. Nasir al-daulah went off to Nisibin, and Mu'izz al-daulah entered Mausil. Leaving Sabuktakin there he proceeded to Nisibin, sending a force to Sinjar, where he learned that Nasir al-daulah's sons Abu'l-Murajja and Hibat Allah were to be found. Hearing of this force they departed, and in such haste that they abandoned their tents and their whole camp as it was, being unable to remove anything. The Dailemites who were in the force made haste to raid and plunder.

A story of imprudent haste.

The Dailemites took up their quarters in the tents of Abu'l-Murajja and his brother. The two however came back, surprised the host, and made many prisoners besides slaying many. Among those who were killed was the Dailemite IBN MALIK called SIYACHASHM, slain by Hibat Allah. Among the captives were SHIRZAD, SHIRMARDI and many others.

Account of the cause of this reverse, and the weakness of Mu'izz al-daulah after the advantage which he had gained.

It was Nasir al-daulah's practice, when he evacuated a town in his flight from Mu'izz al-daulah, to leave there no clerk nor guide nor any one acquainted with the Sultan's affairs. He would collect all such persons (171) into his fortresses with his accounts and registers, and then order the marauders and Bedouins to haunt the approaches to the place, intercept supplies and cut off foragers, unless accompanied by a powerful force. If however they saw such a force, they were not to attack it or show themselves. His object was to compel Mu'izz al-daulah to retreat owing to the difficulty of obtaining food for men and beasts. This was his procedure on this occasion.

Mu'izz al-daulah, learning that there was plenty of food in Nisibin, belonging to the Sultan,¹ directed himself thither, leaving his Chamberlain Sabuktakin in Mausil. Arriving at Barqa'id, he learned that Nasir al-daulah's sons, Abu'l-Murajja and Hibat Allah, were established in Sinjar. He decided to surprise them, and called on a number of high officers to take part in this enterprise. He gave the command over them to TAKIN THE JAMDAR ("cupbearer" or "armour-bearer"), a handsome, beardless lad, given to drink, not knowing how to remain sober,² and without previous experience. The vizier Muhallabi advised his master not to send Takin on such an expedition,³ but rather to employ a veteran commander. Mu'izz al-daulah rejected his advice, and sent Takin at the head of five hundred men. Coming upon Abu'l-Murajja and Hibat Allah, they gave them no time to take down their tents or remove any of their baggage. Escaping on horseback they abandoned all their property, which the party proceeded to plunder. Only Mu'izz al-daulah's followers were too hasty; taking no precautions they established themselves comfortably in the tents. Their former occupants counter-attacked, and the operation went in their favour; they slaughtered, captured and plundered as they chose. So Mu'izz al-daulah was left in Barqa'id on his way to Nisibin with a handful of men. He wrote to Baghdad to summon his armies, which made haste and joined him. When his numbers were sufficient, he proceeded from Barqa'id to Nisibin, whence Nasir al-daulah proceeded to Miyyafariqin, disbanding his whole army, who deserted in a body to Mu'izz al-daulah. Among the deserters was ABU ZUHAIR, brother of Nasir al-daulah. Nasir al-daulah then left Miyyafariqin for

¹ Probably this means in public granaries, not in the possession of individuals.

² In the *Yatimah* ii. 10, a similar description of him is quoted from Ibrahim Sabi's *Taji*.

³ An epigram by him on the subject is quoted l.c.

Halab, where he sought the protection of his brother Saif al-daulah, who gave him a warm welcome and an excellent reception, going so far in his personal ministrations as to remove his shoes with his own hands. (172) Meanwhile *HAMID B. NAMS* had been sent by Mu'izz al-daulah to *Rahbah*, where he routed the troops of Nasir al-daulah whom he found.

TARIF the Eunuch and *HAZARMARD*, retainers of Nasir al-daulah, marauded on the Eastern side of Mausil, every day intercepting Mu'izz al-daulah's agents, seizing the supplies intended for the Chamberlain's army, and preventing anything entering Mausil, which became a besieged city. In the *Tharthar*¹ they captured an agent of Mu'izz al-daulah named 'ALI B. AL-SAGR, whom they brought to the *Qal'ah*,² then they made a surprise attack on *Hadithah*, where was *MUHRIZ*, chamberlain of the vizier *Muhallabi*, with *ABU'L-'ALA IBN SHADHAN*, in charge of the finance. They arrested both, but presently released *Muhriz*, whereas they brought the other to the *Qal'ah*.

Mu'izz al-daulah had sent an envoy to *Kafur* the Eunuch in Egypt to demand the transmission of money to the metropolis. *Kafur* placed the envoy in honourable arrest, delayed his reply, and sent spies to find out the state of affairs. When he learned that Mu'izz al-daulah had returned from his expedition back to Baghdad, he sent the envoy home his errand unaccomplished.

'AMR the Registrar was now despatched by Nasir al-daulah to *Nisibin* to negotiate peace. Long discussions took place between him and Mu'izz al-daulah, without leading to an agreement; and when 'Amr perceived the situation, he deserted to Mu'izz al-daulah, at whose court he remained instead of returning to

¹ This is West of the Tigris and of Mausil. Perhaps "Eastern" above is a slip for "Western."

² Perhaps this means the fort of Mausil.

Nasir al-daulah. Then a series of messages were interchanged between Mu'izz al-daulah and Saif al-daulah, the latter acting as mediator between his brother and the former, and finally the dispute was adjusted, and Mu'izz al-daulah retired from Nisibin directing himself to Mausil.

Account of an unexpected catastrophe.

When Mu'izz al-daulah had got between Mu'nisiyyah and Adhramah¹ on Shubbat (February) 15,² a violent West wind blew, accompanied by a fall of snow. In a few hours of the day great numbers (173) of his troops perished in consequence; Mu'izz al-daulah himself fainted, and nearly died of the furs and poplins piled upon him. The troops wrenched away the rooves and doors of Adhramah to make fires. Mu'izz al-daulah gave the inhabitants three thousand dirhems to replace them.

Account of the bad policy and obviously erroneous course adopted by Mu'izz al-daulah after he had finished with Ruzbahan, leading to the ruin of his realm and mischievous results to his children and subjects.

When Mu'izz al-daulah had finished the war against Ruzbahan, he resolved to cashier the Dailemites who had followed the rebel, while retaining those who had not abandoned himself, even when he suspected their loyalty. He had promised them an addition of three tithes to their regular pay; then he calculated that he would not have enough to carry out this promise to all, considering besides that the victory had been won by the Turks, whom he had favoured out of caprice before they had merited it, and was naturally inclined to favour

¹ Adhramah was rather less than half way between Barqa'id and Nisibin (Le Strange). Mu'nisiyyah, doubtless an establishment of the famous Mu'nis, does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere.

² A.D. 959. An authority cited in the note to the text says this synchronized with 3 Dhu'l-Hijjah, which agrees with Wüstenfeld.

much more after this brilliant service. So he began to recompense the Turks by the bestowal of favours, making a number of them officers, others chamberlains, others sergeants, and promoting each rank to the one above it. He banished the Dailemites who had followed Ruzbahan in order to economize their pay, which might serve to meet the additional pay due to the Dailemites who had remained faithful to him. He sent them away to Ahwaz, and wrote to his vizier Muhallabi, bidding him gather them out of all regions and provinces, keep them under guard, and then travel with them to the extreme frontier whence they might disperse whither they pleased. This order put the vizier in a difficult and dangerous situation, since these Dailemites were numerous and well equipped; however, by skilful and delicate management he got them to depart band after band.

Mu'izz al-daulah next encouraged the Turks to worry the Dailemites and taunt them with sedition and disloyalty and similar charges, and with the fact that the handful of Turks had been sufficient to overcome and humiliate the Dailemites; and he instituted a variety of practices which led the Turks to be contumacious, to demand money, (174) to seize the land and to worry the ministers. He ordered that their pay should be made a charge upon Wasit, Basrah and Ahwaz; and he sent them thither in successive ranks to obtain their pay in full, for themselves and their comrades who remained behind, arranging that each of those who went should have a daily allowance of ten dirhems, or if a sergeant, of twenty dirhems, till they had collected all that was due. His intention was to confer upon them a temporary, not a permanent benefit; but he let loose thereby a source of mischief which harmed him more than the increase of the burden of their regular pay. For they gladly let the payment of the money allocated to them be delayed in order that they might remain longer in these places; and employed their regular pay as trading

capital. So long as one dirhem of the money allocated to them remained unpaid they reckoned none of what was offered them as their regular pay ; and the officials gladly paid them in instalments, in order not to have the trouble of finding the whole amount at once. Frequently a man remained two or three years. Trade struck root in their breasts, with the right of passing their acquisitions along the road post free and duty free ; their next step was to undertake the protection of small cultivators, whence they acquired possession of the land, treated the finance officers with disdain and became protectors or traders, or of any one else who applied to them. The hands of the government officials were weakened, and these retainers enslaved the people. This has continued, only growing worse, up to this day.

YEAR 348.¹

In this year ABU MOHAMMED FAYYADI, secretary of Saif al-daulah, arrived in Mausil in Muharram (began March 14, 959), and it was arranged that Mausil, Diyar Rabi'ah and Raḥbah should be put under the governorship of Saif al-daulah for a tribute of 2,900,000 dirhems a year. This was because Mu'izz al-daulah was unwilling to assign them to Nasir al-daulah. It was further stipulated that a million dirhems of the sum should be paid in advance, and that the captives taken at Sinjar should be released. When this had been settled, Mu'izz al-daulah descended the river, while the vizier Muhallabi, the chamberlain Sabuktakin and the whole army remained behind in Mausil until the advance-money (175) was paid. The two ministers then came home with the army, accompanied by Saif al-daulah's secretary Abu Mohammed Fayyadi.

¹ Began March 14, 959.

Account of the return of Mu'izz al-daulah and the reason for his doing so after he had got possession of Diyar Rabi'ah and Mudar.

The reason for his expedition was the financial crisis which overtook him after the events which we have narrated, and the delay in the transmission of the tribute. Nasir al-daulah, knowing of this, fled before his advance, telling his followers they might go where they pleased, as he had no intention of staying to fight. His followers in consequence deserted to Mu'izz al-daulah, as we have recorded, thereby increasing Mu'izz al-daulah's embarrassment, and he was unable to maintain order in the provinces or to protect them; and the people declined to pay the land-tax, alleging that they could not get at their produce, and demanding protection. Mu'izz al-daulah was therefore compelled to turn homewards, only pride made him hold out for a time in spite of vexation and distress. When Saif al-daulah's message arrived, he acquiesced, and sent a grateful reply, complaining of his brother's conduct, his untrustworthiness, and repeated breaches of faith; only, he added, if *you* stand security for him, I will assent. Saif al-daulah gave the guarantee, and Mu'izz al-daulah then started homewards.

In this year the transmission of tribute from Wasit and as far as Ahwaz and Basrah was stopped.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this is the fact which has been recorded; the domination of the Turks, and their interference with the finance officers, on whom they put pressure, even compelling them to pay the Turks large bribes. They acquired the lands, took various persons under their protection on the principle called *patronage*,¹ and appropriated the dues of the Treasury. The

¹ *Talaji*'.

officials had to rely on the good will of these Turkish retainers in getting their rights out of the cultivators, and the former demanded the payment for their services no less than they demanded the moneys allocated to themselves. The Dailemites followed their example ; the two parties (Turks and Dailemites) agreed on the principle, and embezzled the Sultan's dues. The finance officers met in consequence and broke up the originals of their contracts.¹ They demanded the removal of their grievance, which had become like a disease beyond hope of cure. (176). For the Dailemites were in ill humour and dispersed, whereas the Turks were arrogant and domineering ; had they been repressed, they would have made common cause with the Dailemites. So it became the practice for any surplus which appeared in the accounts of the finance officials to be carried forward to the next year. The vizier or any one else who endeavoured to deal with it became liable to be assaulted and lose his life. In the time of Mu'izz al-daulah, owing to his authority and the respect which he continued to command, this evil was like a growing infant ; after his death and in the time of his children, it had become chronic and exceeded all bounds.

In this year the Sultan bestowed a robe of honour upon the prince Abu Mansur Bakhtiyar, son of Mu'izz al-daulah, tied a banner for him, and appointed him Prince of Princes with the title *'Izz al-daulah* (the Strength of the Empire).

In this year a banner and a diploma were sent to ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. ALYAS,² negotiations having been conducted throughout by ABU BAKR AHMAD B. SAYYAR SAIMARI, the qadi.

In this year died Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. Ahmad Mafarukhi, who had been Mu'izz al-daulah's secretary ;

¹ The sense of these words is uncertain.

² See above, i. 355. The diploma was for the government of Kirman. An authority cited in the note on the text adds that Bakhtiyar married his daughter.

he was succeeded by ABU MOHAMMED 'ALI B. 'ABD AL-'AZIZ MAFARUKHI, who resigned after a month and retired; his place was taken by ABU BAKR IBN ABI SA'ID.

In this year a battle was fought between 'ALI B. KAMAḤ, sister's son to Rukn al-daulah, and BISTUN, son of Washmagir. The result was unfavourable to the latter.

In this year the pilgrims who came down the river from Mausil were drowned, to the number of (177) about a thousand, men and women, in less than twenty large *zaurags*.

YEAR 349.¹

In this year news arrived to the effect that the ruler of Khorasan had put to death one of his officers named BUKHTAKIN, an eminent Turk. This act gave rise to disorders in Khorasan.

News also arrived to the effect that a son of 'ISA son of Muktafi had risen in the province of Armenia, taking the title *Al-Mustajir billah* (the seeker of God's protection), preaching the claims of "the Approved of the family of Mohammed." He had put on wool,² and "enjoined right and forbade wrong." This personage had travelled to the Jil country, where he had invoked the aid of various Dailemites, followers of Ma'ruf,³ followers of the black ('Abbasid) emblem, and adherents of the Moslem system *sunnah*. These persons joined his revolt, proceeded to Adharbaijan, and seized a number of towns, some of which had been in the hands of the Dailemite Salar. In Ramadan (began Oct. 25, 960) however a despatch arrived from the son of the Salar to the effect that he had crushed this person who called himself Mustajir, having captured and killed him.

¹ Began March 3, 960.

² *i.e.*, paraded himself as an ascetic. Tabari, iii. 1618, 13, speaks of the Zaidis as "wearers of wool."

³ Probably Ma'ruf of Karkh, famous Sufi, ob. 200, said to have been a shi'i.

Account of the course of his rising and speedy fall.

The cause of the rising was that Justan b. Marzuban had abandoned his father's method of managing the army, devoting himself to amusement and to women, whom he presently admitted into the administration. Justan b. Sharmzan¹ had entrenched himself in the walls of Urumiyyah, while Wahsudhan was in Tarm, sowing discord between the sons (178) of Marzuban, as we narrated above. Justan b. Marzuban had arrested his vizier Nu'aimi. Nu'aimi was allied by marriage to the secretary of Justan b. Sharmzan, ABU'L-HASAN 'UBAIDALLAH B. MOHAMMED B. HAMDAWAIHI. When Nu'aimi was arrested by Justan b. Marzuban, his brother-in-law 'Ubaidallah took offence, and induced his master (Justan b. Sharmzan) who was at the time in Urumiyyah, to write to Ibrahim, brother of Justan b. Marzuban, holding out hopes of large sums, and offering to serve him and assist him with the army which he had mustered; he would then give him his brother's place. Ibrahim accepted these suggestions against the advice of his counsellors, who dissuaded him. Yielding to ambition, he proceeded to Urumiyyah, where he interviewed Justan b. Sharmzan and his secretary 'Ubaidallah, and made satisfactory promises to them. They then advanced to Maraghah and took possession of the place.

Justan b. Marzuban had gone to Bardha'ah; learning of the proceedings of his brother Ibrahim and his alliance with Justan b. Sharmzan, he returned to Ardabil, and thence despatched an envoy to Justan b. Sharmzan and his secretary, to play on their cupidity, promise the release of Nu'aimi, and offer them anything they demanded. They in consequence resumed friendly relations with him, abandoned Ibrahim, and departed to Urumiyyah, violating all their promises to him.

¹ See above, ii. 167.

Ibrahim, seeing this, returned to Urumiyyah (?). Justan b. Sharmzan and his secretary continued to lead each of the two brothers, Ibrahim and Justan, sons of Marzuban, to suppose that they were on his side, till they had completed building the wall of Urumiyyah, with a powerful fort in the middle, and had accumulated a large stock of provisions and arms. The two brothers simultaneously became conscious of Justan b. Sharmzan's hypocrisy and treacherous designs; sending messages to each other they settled their differences, and decided to make a joint attack upon him. It happened that Nu'aimi had escaped from Justan b. Marzuban's prison, and got to Muqan. There he entered into correspondence with Ibn 'Isa, grandson of Muktafi, who styled himself al-Mustajir billah, bidding him aim at the Caliphate, and offering to muster on his behalf an army wherewith he could seize Adharbaijan; fortified there with money and men he might attack 'Iraq. Mustajir had advanced at the head of some (179) three hundred men, adherents of the black ('Abbasid) banner; but had not yet acquired means, or collected the number of men that he desired. When Nu'aimi offered him encouragement, he came and effected a junction with him, and was also joined by Justan b. Sharmzan with his army. Mustajir had thus an accession of strength, made Justan b. Sharmzan commander of his army, and accepted the homage of the people. Against him the two sons of Marzuban, Justan and Ibrahim, marched with their hosts. When Justan b. Sharmzan was arraying his troops, he commanded them to keep in line, maintaining their order, and not charge till he gave them leave. With them was AL-FADL B. AHMAD the *Qahtani* Kurd,—a class of the Kurds have that name—while with Justan (b. Marzuban) was the other class, known as the *Hadayanis*. These *Hadayanis* met the *Qahtani* Kurds, who engaged them, and in consequence the ranks of Justan b. Sharmzan became disordered. Justan left the place where he was, among

the Dailemites, to complain to al-Fa^{al} of his disobeying his order, and to send him back to his place. Finding that he had got far away, he pursued him ; his followers had no doubt that he had been routed, followed his track, and a rout ensued. The Hadayanis with the followers of Justan and Ibrahim pressed them hard, and Justan b. Sharmzan was compelled to retire to Urumiyah. Ishaq b. 'Isa, grandson of Muktafi, was captured, and it was never known what was done to him, I have heard that he was executed ; and another account, that he died a natural death in prison.

Wahsudhan succeeded in sowing discord between his nephews. He invited Ibrahim to visit him ; when he came, Wahsudhan bestowed on him honours and numerous presents, including various mounts. He also wrote to Nasir, and induced him to come to Muqan, quitting his brother (Justan). The army found a chance of furthering their own interests and demanding money ; most of them quitted Justan and joined Nasir, who was soon strong enough to advance and seize Ardabil, compelling his brother Justan to take refuge in the fortress called Nir.¹ Presently the Dailemites and Kurds crowded round Nasir demanding what he could not afford ; his uncle Wahsudhan left him in the lurch. He perceived then that his uncle had been misleading him, and both he and his brother understood their uncle's purpose. They entered into communication with each other and came to terms, whereby Nasir surrendered the sovereignty to his brother Justan, who quitted his fortress ; they both came to Ardabil, (180) where however they were in great straits owing to the exhaustion of the exchequer, and the number of usurpers who had seized their outlying possessions. They were therefore compelled to go to their uncle Wahsudhan, taking with them Justan's mother, after obtaining from him the

¹ Perhaps the Nor Berd (New Fortress) of Armenian geographers.

most solemn assurances and oaths. When they were in his power, he violated his oath, imprisoned them, assumed command of the army, and made his own son ISMA'IL B. WAHSUDHAN prince, handing over to him his chief fortress, Shamiran.¹ He brought out the treasures, and conciliated the army. He appointed ABU'L-QASIM SHARMZAN B. MISHAKI commander of his army and despatched him to Ardabil. Ibrahim had gone off to Armenia and was making preparations to dispute the sovereignty with Isma'il and make war upon him, hoping also to rescue his brothers Justan and Nasir from the prison of their uncle Wahsudhan, who was keeping them in strict confinement and cruelly ill-treating them.

When Wahsudhan learned of Ibrahim's determination to make war on Isma'il and that a number of Dailemites had joined his side, he made haste to put to death Justan, Nasir, their mother, and all their relatives or any one who was a possible source of danger. He further wrote to Justan b. Sharmzan and HUSAIN B. MOHAMMED B. AL-RAWWAD, bidding them attack Ibrahim, and sending them reinforcements. They obeyed, and advanced against him, as also did Isma'il. Ibrahim fled to Armenia; Justan b. Sharmzan, being in his neighbourhood, got control over his army, seized Maraghah, and made it dependent on Urumiyyah.

In this year Saif al-daulah raided at the head of a vast host, and dealt severe blows to the Byzantine towns, storming fortresses and obtaining vast plunder and numerous prisoners. He got as far as Kharshanah in his expedition, but when he meant to return, the Byzantines seized the passes,² and he with some three hundred of his retainers managed to escape with great difficulty,

¹ A fortress Shamiram is mentioned by Thomas Ardzruni as held by the Armenian princes of the same surname. Indjijean, *Armenian Geography*, p. 211.

² Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 50, gives the name of the pass as Andrasos, *i.e.*, "the pass leading *via* Andrasos to Kelenderis (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 350). On the limits of the Kharsian Theme (Kharshanah), see Ramsay, p. 249.

whereas the rest of his followers were either captured or slain ; all the booty, prisoners and goods, was recovered, and all his stores, arms, and horses were seized. Distinguished comrades of his who were killed were *Hamid b. Nams*, *MUSA B. SIYAKAN* and the *qadi ABU HASIN*. He had with him 30,000 Moslem troops. The people of Tarsus returned by (181) another route and so escaped.

Account of the reason for their escape and the catastrophe that befell Saif al-daulah.

This person (I mean Saif al-daulah) was conceited and self-willed, unwilling that one man should tell another that he (Saif al-daulah) had acted in accordance with the advice of some one else. The people of Tarsus had advised him to retire with them, as they were aware that the Byzantines had seized the pass whereby he proposed to return and crowded it with troops. Saif al-daulah would not take their advice and insisted on his own plan. In consequence the Moslems forfeited their lives, while he forfeited his money, baggage and retainers.

In this year a brother of 'Imran b. Shahin, Abu'l-Fath, called Abu'l-'Urban ("father of the Bedouins") deserted his brother and came to Wasit with his women-folk, dependents and children, He did this, having cause to fear his brother, He entered Baghdad in Dhu'l-Qa'dah (began Dec. 23, 960), and was received by Mu'izz al-daulah.

In this year Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. *Husain Shirazi*¹ obtained in marriage the vizier Muhallabi's daughter. Abu'l-Qasim 'Abdallah b. *Ahmad al-Baridi*² died; and some 200,000 Turkish tents (*khargah*) adopted Islam.

In this year the Egyptian pilgrims on their way home after having discharged their pilgrimage, having encamped in a Meccan *wadi* were swept away by a flood at

¹ See above, ii. 121.

² *i.e.*, the son after whom the most famous Baridi was called.

night before they could realize what was happening, and were drowned (**182**) in large numbers. The water swept them with their goods to the sea.

YEAR 350.¹

In this year the illness of Mu'izz al-daulah grew severe, he had difficulty in passing urine, and suffered great mental agitation. Summoning at night the vizier Muhallabi and the chamberlain Sabuktakin, he reconciled them after a long-standing estrangement, and bewailed and lamented himself in Dailemite style. At the end of the night he discharged blood by the urinary channel in great quantities, and this was followed by gravel. His pain was eased; and the next day, Thursday 5 Muharram (Feb. 24, 961),² he handed his palace, horses and slaves over to his son 'Izz al-daulah, to whom he entrusted the administration. Assigning him as advisers the vizier Muhallabi and the chamberlain Sabuktakin, Mu'izz al-daulah started for Ahwaz with a few of his retainers and courtiers.

Account of the reason for this step and for the journey after an improvement and promise of recovery had set in.

The reason was his conviction that it was Baghdad which had caused his ailments and injured his health. Recollecting the days of his residence in Ahwaz, which were those of his youth and full strength, he imagined that it was Ahwaz which suited his constitution and had brought him health. Having therefore commended to the chamberlain Sabuktakin and the vizier Muhallabi his son, the army, and other objects of his concern, he descended the river to Kalwadha. When he had arrived there he was advised by Muhallabi to stay and carefully consider his plans, doing nothing in a hurry. He stopped therefore at Kalwadha and began to plan the erection

¹ Began Oct. 20, 961.

² A Sunday according to Wüstenfeld.

of a castle. Presently he proceeded to Shafi'i,¹ where again he planned building ; then he turned off to Qutrabull, as being the highest part of Baghdad, where the air was purer and the water sweeter. He decided to build a palace from the boundary of Qutrabull to the Harb Gate, if he recovered from his illness. Muhallabi, while this was going on, endeavoured to humour him, at the same time to dissuade him, knowing the vastness of the labour and the cost which the scheme would involve, and how little the army and court would like to be driven (183) from their homes and surroundings, or approve of the ruin of Baghdad which would ensue from the removal of the sovereign. Muhallabi by persistence induced him to abandon this scheme, but knowing that Mu'izz al-daulah was bent on building, and that such an edifice, while contiguous with Baghdad, must be in the most elevated part for salubrity and purity of air and water, fixed the site in the Garden known as that of Saimari, which is in the highest part of Eastern Baghdad, near Qasr Faraj. He began to demolish the neighbouring dwellings, which he purchased of their owners, up to the boundaries of Rabi'at al-Dur. He commissioned the two "just men" (Certified witnesses) ABU'L-QASIM IBN MUKRAM² and ABU'L-QASIM IBN JUSTAN to purchase the neighbouring dwellings. He prepared a parade-ground the whole length of the Tigris, and built the stables on the Nahr Mahdi. He removed the iron doors of the City (of Mansur), those that were in Rusafah, and those that were on the Nahr Mu'alla Road, to transfer them to his palace ; he demolished the palaces of the Caliphs in Samarra and the wall of the prison called the Iron Jail to use the materials for his palace ; in addition to the brick which he had manufactured and baked in kilns. His construction was solid, the tools, mortar and lime being selected, and great attention being

¹ In Yaqut's geographical dictionary this name is spelt Safi'i.

² He was employed in such business a long time ; see i. 103, A.H. 311.

paid to durability. Masons famed for their skill were fetched from all the great towns, Ahwaz, Mausil, Ispahan, the cities of the Jabal, etc. The earth was excavated in places for foundations to a depth of thirty-six cubits, and then filled with lime and clay to a cubit above the surface. Up to the time of his death this construction involved him in an expenditure of 13,000,000 dirhems, to obtain which he fined his dependents, besides the materials which he had not to buy, some of which we have mentioned, but not all. During the process of building he stayed in the Bustan of Saimari. He took up his abode in the palace before it was completed, on Monday—8 Dhu'l-Qa'dah of the year 350 (Jan. 3, 962).¹

(184) In this year died the qadi ABU BAKR AHMAD IBN KAMIL, from whom I heard the Chronicle of Abu Ja'far Tabari. He had himself been an associate of Tabari, and had heard a great deal of matter from him,² but of Tabari's works which he taught I heard only the Chronicle, partly by reading, and partly by licence.³ He lived in 'Abd al-Samad Street, and I associated with him a great deal.

In this year, too, died the qadi'l-qudat, Abu'l-Sa'ib 'Utbah b. 'Ubaidallah.⁴ His property was seized, and his retainer, Mohammed the chamberlain, fined and scourged in my presence almost to death by the vizier Muhallabi, owing to information which had reached the vizier of his impiety and immorality in the days of Abu'l-Sa'ib. The vizier was fully determined to take vengeance, and crushed the man's ankles to splinters with

¹ A Friday according to Wüstenfeld. Dhahabi, cited in the note on the text, asserts that the building was a complete ruin before the year 600. The Table-Talk has also an account of it.

² There is a life of this person in my *Irshad al-Arib*, i. 17. It is there stated that he was Tabari's favourite pupil.

³ *i.e.*, Ibn Kamil, as an authorised transmitter of Tabari's works, gave Miskawaihi the licence to transmit this portion, without having gone through it with the teacher.

⁴ Dhahabi, cited in the note on the text, states that he was the first adherent of Shafi'i's school who held the post of chief qadi in Baghdad.

blows. He was an adulterer who used to assail men's wives, and as he was officially the chamberlain of the chief qadi, no-one who had a suit or business with the chief qadi durst resist him. He was naturally handsome and attractive, and resorted besides to artificial aids.

In this year ABU NASR IBRAHIM, son of 'Ali b. 'Isa, secretary to the Caliph, died suddenly. Abu'l-Hasan Sa'id b. 'Amr b. Sanjala was appointed private secretary to the Caliph.

In this year Mu'izz al-daulah arrested Abu 'Ali the Treasurer, Abu Makhlad, Abu'l-Faraj (185) Mohammed b. 'Abbas, president of the Bureau, Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain Shirazi, and Abu Sahl Dizuyah, president of the bureau of the army.

Account of the reason for this.

Money was required for the building, and Muhallabi applied to Abu 'Ali the Treasurer owing to information which he had received of old about him, and likewise to Abu Makhlad and Abu'l-Faraj. He told Mu'izz al-daulah that he would himself be responsible for a certain sum, and that he would make the persons mentioned likewise responsible out of moneys which they had hoarded or appropriated. Thus Mu'izz al-daulah would be in no need of money for the completion of his building. Mu'izz al-daulah placed great confidence in Abu 'Ali, who was a great dissembler, pretending to be poor, and displaying poverty and economy to a degree scarcely compatible with his rank. Mu'izz al-daulah said to Muhallabi: What do you want of this poor creature, who is satisfied with the wretched allowance which I give him?—Muhallabi offered to extract from him alone enough to defray the cost of the building. He said much the same about the others. So they were all delivered into his hands, and I was present when the vizier Muhallabi examined them all.

When ABU MAKHLAD was addressed, and money demanded of him, he replied: When I entered the prince's service, my possessions consisted of a mat, a cloak, and an inkpot. To-day I rival the greatest of the provincial sovereigns in money, estates, equipment, handsome slaves, and furniture. I shall have been the gainer until I am reduced to my original capital.—The vizier fixed his contribution at half a million dirhems, but invoked a blessing on him; he let him go home, after taking his bond for that amount. The vizier then turned to us and said: This man is on the road to fortune. I expected him to be obdurate and address me in the insolent style which his place in the prince's favour might warrant. He has however spoken to me with caution and saved his life, honour and wealth. That is what fortune does for her favourites.

He next addressed Abu 'Ali the Treasurer; he however adopted his accustomed style, declared that he did not possess a day's food, and (186) declined to contribute anything. He was removed from the presence of the vizier, and put in custody in an apartment of the palace.

ABU SAHL DIZUYAH feigned illness. He tied up his head with a bandage, produced a jar and put it under his head, saying: I am a stranger.¹—He provoked mirth, and the vizier let him alone for that day.

ABU'L-FADL's interests were protected by the vizier, owing to the alliance between them.² The vizier took his bond for 300,000 dirhems and let him go home. Similar treatment was accorded to ABU'L-FARAJ, head of the Bureau, whose bond was taken for the same sum. A few days later a message came from Dizuyah, requesting to be pardoned and to be treated like Abu'l-Fadl. The vizier assented.

¹ Or perhaps "a poor man," according to the Persian sense of the word in the text.

² Above, ii. 181.

Abu 'Ali the Treasurer continued to be contumacious, declining to undertake any payment. After being threatened he consented to contribute, and sent to Mu'izz al-daulah's sister to borrow of her a sum which would enable him to buy his life from the vizier who threatened him with torture. He hoped that this would reach the Prince, and lead to his release. Mu'izz al-daulah did in consequence plead his cause with the vizier, saying: Did I not tell you that he has no property?—The vizier replied: Prince, do not pay any attention to his tricks and devices, but permit me to extract an enormous sum from him.—Mu'izz al-daulah dropped the subject. Abu 'Ali sent to every one whom he knew, soliciting loans, so that it got about in the empire that he was a poor man whom the vizier was persecuting.

One night he was stung in the back by some creature that drew blood, and he suffered pain. The part of the vizier's palace in which he was confined had at one time been used for sheep, and the people supposed that he had been bitten by a tick, thinking that the tick and the viper are the only creatures whose bite draws blood. After a few days Abu 'Ali the Treasurer died, and the vizier Muhallabi was in consternation, fearing that he would be suspected of murdering him. Moreover he had only been able to extract from him quite a small sum. Presently the vizier learned that Abu 'Ali had obtained by loans many times the amount which he had paid as fine. He was amazed at the man's courage, expected to be censured by Mu'izz (187) al-daulah on his account, and resigned himself to suffering anything. He thought fit however to take the initiative with Mu'izz al-daulah, and solicit his leave to make inquiries into Abu 'Ali's finances, pretending to be quite confident about the sums which he had promised to obtain from that quarter. He succeeded in mollifying Mu'izz al-daulah and got his permission for the purpose, though he was far from feeling any confidence about the existence of the sums which

he promised from Abu 'Ali's estate, and was merely averting Mu'izz al-daulah's wrath from himself for the moment. He instituted his inquiries, and succeeded in unearthing vast sums, some of them in my presence. Thus he arrested the dead man's dependents and retainers, and interviewed each of them separately. Promising and threatening, he asked the man whether he suspected any spot in the dead man's house of covering buried treasure, or any person who did business with him of holding a deposit of his. One of them replied: The deceased was too astute to do any of the operations which you are endeavouring to trace and investigate in any one's presence. Only he did turn a slave whom he employed as barber out of a room which had been assigned to him, and used it as a privy for some days.—The vizier paid a personal visit to the house of Abu 'Ali the Treasurer, and inquired for the barber's chamber. The barber was an Abyssinian or Nubian slave. The vizier entered into occupation of the chamber, dug up a number of places, and came upon a treasure of which I never learned the amount.¹

In the hoard there was an instrument like a balance, or rather the case for one, made of teak wood, with a beam (?) like that of a balance, but no place for weight nor pan, being carved out of the blocks like a reservoir with a cover made to fit it. It contained nothing. The vizier wondered, and inverting the cover found some writing upon it. He took this instrument home, but transmitted the money to Mu'izz al-daulah's treasury.

How well I remember his scrutinising the instrument and studying the writing which was its owner's bad hand. It was found to contain the names of people, and certain unintelligible indications. The names were (188) separate, out of which nothing could be put together so as to furnish any information about the owner of any

¹ Yaqut gives the amount at over 70,000 dinars.

of them ; the vizier however had no doubt that they were the names of persons with whom treasure had been deposited, and that the signs stood for the respective amounts. He brought his ingenuity to bear on the matter, and presently said : I find a certain name—'Ali repeated, and if we can bring him to light, he will furnish the clue to the other names. People objected : There were many persons named 'Ali who associated with the deceased.—Never mind, he said : the number who had business transactions with him was not large, and the number of those fit to be trusted with a deposit yet smaller.—He then proceeded to another name (I fancy)—*Ahmad*. This, he said, is the name of a banker in the house of Abu 'Ali in 'Aun Lane ; fetch him.—He was fetched, and the vizier said to him : We have found a deed in your name and that of Abu 'Ali according to which a certain sum was lodged by him with you. Send your clerk at once to produce it.—The man was perplexed, and denied that he was in possession of any sum. The vizier resorted to violence, had the man subjected to torture, then imprisoned him and had him fettered with heavy irons weighing thirty *mann*. Under the treatment the man succumbed, and when the collector came and threatened him, he confessed. There were in his name seven ANUKI, a word of which none of us knew the meaning. The vizier, as a way out of the difficulty, bade them demand of him seven talents of dinars ; and his conjecture turned out to be right, for he paid up 50,000 dinars. The vizier proceeded to trace name after name, having learned the meaning of the signs, and realized some 200,000 dinars from these sources in addition to the buried treasure. He thereby secured the respect of Mu'izz al-daulah, won freedom of speech and dignity and credence for his statements, after Mu'izz al-daulah had supposed that he had lost in his Treasurer a man whose fidelity, integrity and piety could not be replaced. The post held by Abu 'Ali the Treasurer was

conferred upon ABU MOHAMMED 'ALI B. 'ABBAS B. FASANJAS in the middle of Sha'ban (began Sep. 15, 961), and the fief of Abu 'Ali was assigned him.

In this year the qadi Abu'l-'Abbas 'Abdallah b. *Hasan* Ibn Abi'l-Shawarib was appointed qadi on both sides of Baghdad and the City of Mansur, and qadi of qadis. He received his robes of honour (189) from the palace of the Sultan,¹ since the Caliph declined to receive him, and rode in these robes from the palace of Mu'izz al-daulah, preceded by drums, horns and trumpets, and with Turkish retainers and troops in the procession. He had compassed investiture with this office by paying court to Mu'izz al-daulah's Cupbearer ARSLAM, with whom he arranged to transmit yearly 200,000 dirhems to the Prince's treasury. A contract to that effect was drawn up, and the amount of the instalments fixed. The Caliph would not permit this judge to be presented to him on reception days or on any others. The foul and disreputable procedure of the Judge led to the Censorship in Baghdad being assigned for a pecuniary consideration, and the prefecture of police being likewise assigned for 20,000 dirhems to be paid each lunar month. This qadi in addition to his disreputable conduct was ugly of visage and deformed.

In this year ABU'L-QASIM, brother of 'Imran, arrived as a fugitive.²

In this year news arrived that 'ABD AL-MALIK B. NUH, ruler of Khorasan, had been thrown by his horse, and died in consequence; and that a brother of his named MANSUR had succeeded him.

In this year robes of honour were transmitted from the Sultan's Palace to Ibrahim the Salar, who was appointed governor of Adharbaijan.

¹ Probably he should have said the Prince.

² Cf. above, ii. 181.

YEAR 351.¹

In this year the vizier Muhallabi transferred the *kharaj*-year 350 to 351.²

(190). And in it the Prince Rukn al-daulah entered Sariyah in Tabaristan, which was evacuated by Washmagir who retreated to Jurjan. Three thousand of the latter's followers deserted to Rukn al-daulah.

In this year the Byzantines entered 'Ain Zarbah, with a force of 160,000 men. It is at the foot of a mountain, which overlooks the place.³ When the Domesticus arrived at the head of this vast force, he sent a detachment of his army to the mountain, and himself encamped at the gate. The detachment took possession of the mountain, and the inhabitants of the place, seeing this; and finding another army encamped at their gate, and that the Domesticus had with him a number of moving towers, and had commenced piercing their wall, begged to be allowed to capitulate. He promised them safety, and they opened the gate of the city, which he entered. He found that his cavalry who had occupied the mountain had come down to the city; regretting his promise of security, he issued a proclamation at the beginning of the night that the whole population should go out to the Public Mosque; whoever stayed at home should be killed.—All who could go out did so; and when morning dawned, he sent his infantry, to the number of 66,000 through the city, to kill all whom they found in the houses. They massacred an immense number of men, women and children. He ordered all

¹ Began Feb. 9, 962.

² Mu'tadid had introduced the Persian calendar for the land-tax; but, as appears from ii. 25 above, there was much arbitrariness in these matters. In Ibrahim Sabi's *Letters*, pp. 209–216, there is the circular letter wherein this proceeding is described and explained. According to him the principle was to count 33 lunar as 32 solar years.

³ The modern name is Anazarbe; its ruins are situated at the foot of a great calcareous rock, which is isolated, in the middle of a plain watered by the Pyramus. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 92.

the weapons in the place to be collected, and a vast number were amassed, including 40,000 spears. All the date-trees, to the number of some 50,000, were cut down.¹ He further issued a proclamation (191) that all who were gathered in the Public Mosque should leave the place for any destination which they chose, and that any one found remaining there by the evening should be killed.—The people in consequence hurried away, crowding at the doors; many men, women and children died of the crushing, while those who got away went headlong, bare-foot and naked, not knowing whither to direct themselves. Hence they died on the roads. Those who were discovered in the town after daytime were slaughtered. All the goods and chattels which the people had left behind were seized. The two walls which encompassed the city were destroyed and the dwellings demolished. For twenty-one days the Domesticus remained on Islamic territory, and took fifty-four forts in the region round Ain Zarah, some by storm others by capitulation.

In the case of one of the latter the people were ordered to quit, and while they were on the move certain Armenians made advances to the women who were coming out. Their men-folk, whose gallantry was aroused, drew their swords. This angered the Domesticus, who thereupon ordered the whole throng to be massacred, to the number of 400 men, besides women and children, of whom he spared only young girls or such as were fitted for slavery.

When the Fast commenced, he departed, with the intention of returning when it was over, and announced his intention of leaving his army behind in Caesarea. IBN AL-ZAYYAT, governor of Tarsus, had come out at the head of 40,000 citizens of that town, but was defeated by the Domesticus, who massacred his whole force, in which was his brother. Ibn al-Zayyat had stopped

¹ The taking of Anavarzay (as he writes the name) is mentioned by Stephanos of Taron, 134, 14. The matter is dismissed in a line by Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 54.

public prayer for Saif al-daulah, and sent him an embassy.¹ When he became aware of what had happened, he put on his armour, placed a turban on his head, went out to the balcony of his house which was on the river-bank, flung himself into the water and was drowned.

In Muharram of this year (began Feb. 9, 962) Rukn al-daulah entered Jurjan.

In this year news came that the ruler of Khorasan had sent a vast army against one of his retainers (192) who had revolted, named ALPTAKIN, and that this army had been met and routed by Alptakin, who had taken prisoner the chief officers, among whom was the maternal uncle of the ruler of Khorasan.

In this year the Caliph bestowed the title 'ADUD AL-DAULAH on the Prince Abu Shuja' Fannakhusrah son of Rukn al-daulah, and a rescript was issued to this effect.

In this year the Byzantines captured ABU FIRAS son of Abu'l-'Ala Ibn Hamdan from Manbij of which he was governor.

In this year news came that the Domesticus had come to Halab and got possession of the city.² He arrived thither accompanied by the Emperor's sister's son. Neither Saif al-daulah nor any one else knew of his enterprise, as it was a surprise attack. When Saif al-daulah learned of his arrival, he had not time to prepare, and, though he went out to meet the enemy, could only make a feeble resistance. Most of his followers were slain, including all the sons of DAWUD B. HAMDAN, and a son of Husain b. Hamdan; Saif al-daulah escaped with a few followers, and the Domesticus obtained possession of his palace, which was outside Halab. There

¹ Apparently this means that unless Saif al-daulah came to the rescue he must no longer count on allegiance.

² Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 54.

were found there 390 talents of silver belonging to him, 1,400 mules,¹ and countless stores of arms, all of which were seized by the Domesticus, who set fire to the palace, and took possession of the suburbs. The people of Halab fought him from behind their wall; many of the Byzantines were killed by stones, and when part of the wall was breached and killed some of the people of Halab on whom it fell, and the Byzantines hoped to effect an entry at that point, the citizens repulsed them. When night came on the Moslems by a united effort built up the breach, and when morning came they had completed their work, and with cries of *Allah Akbar* mounted the newly repaired wall. The Byzantines thereupon retired to a hill at a short distance called Jabal Jaushan.² The infantry of the garrison in Halab then went into the houses of the residents and the shops of the merchants to plunder them. A cry was raised: Get to your houses, as they are being plundered! Hearing this the citizens descended from the wall, which they left unguarded, and hurried to their houses to protect their property. When the Byzantines noticed that the wall was unguarded, they waited a while, and then (193) taking courage, climbed up it and looked down into the city, where they saw rioting and plunder proceeding; they descended, opened the gates and let in the others, who put the population to the sword, massacring all whom they met, and not sheathing their swords till they were faint and weary. In the town there were 1,200 Byzantine prisoners, who being released took up arms against the Moslems. There were 700 Byzantines whom Saif al-daulah had got ready to be exchanged for Moslem prisoners, and the Domesticus took them away; he also took into captivity more than 10,000 Moslem boys and girls from the place, and carried off stores belonging to Saif al-daulah and property belonging to the merchants

¹With Lebeau-Brosset these become 14,000.

²Not mentioned by the geographers.

of which the quantity passes limit and description. When he had exhausted his means of transport he set fire to what was left. He poured water into the jars wherein oil was preserved so that the oil flowed out upon the ground. He also destroyed the mosques. His stay lasted nine days.

Before storming the city he had offered to spare it on condition that the citizens should deliver to him 3,000 boys and girls, and a fixed amount of money and goods. If these conditions were carried out he offered to depart. They declined these terms. It is recorded that the number of his troops was 200,000, among whom 30,000 wore cuirasses, while 30,000 were artisans for demolishing of buildings, and making roads through the snow. He had 4,000 mules, carrying iron caltrops, which he flung round his camp at night. He had besides pavilions covered with Moorish felt.

Those citizens who mounted the citadel of Halab escaped with their lives. After nine days the Domesticus wished to retire with his spoil; the emperor's nephew said to him: This is a town which has come into our possession, and there is no-one in front of us to expel us from it. The descendants of 'Ali, the Hashimites, viziers, clerks, and men of means who were in it are lodged in the citadel; why then should we retire before storming the citadel?—The Domesticus replied: We have achieved (194) what neither we nor the Emperor ever imagined, having killed, taken captive, captured, burned, demolished, rescued our own prisoners, secured without ransom those whom we had intended to release by exchange, and acquired booty of unheard-of value; those who have taken refuge in the citadel are naked, and must perish when they come down from it, as they will find no food. Our best plan is to retire and leave them, for to pursue things to extremities leads to destruction.—The emperor's nephew insisted,

saying : I decline to retire till I have stormed the citadel.—As he was obstinate, the Domesticus suggested to him to sit down and besiege it ; for the stress of circumstances would compel them to open the gates. The other however said he would only capture the citadel with the sword. The Domesticus then said to him : Do as you please ; I will remain with my army at the city gate.—The following day the Emperor's nephew dismounted, and armed with sword and shield began to mount. The ascent to the citadel was so narrow that there was not room for more than one person to traverse it at a time. He was followed by his comrades in single file. Now a party of Dailemites had established themselves in the citadel, and they permitted him to ascend till he came near the gate, when they opened it, and hurled a stone at him, which hit him and drove him back. Dizzy with the blow he sprang forward again, when a Dailemite transfixed his chest with a spear and he fell back upon his head. He was taken by his comrades and brought to the Domesticus, who, when he saw that he had been killed, sent for all the Moslem prisoners and had them executed to a man. He then departed for the Byzantine country, doing no harm to the outlying fields and villages, whose inhabitants he told that the town was now a Byzantine possession, and that they had best take pains with their cultivation, as he would shortly be returning to them. ¹

(195) YEAR 352. ²

In this year news came that certain Armenian infantry had come to Edessa and lifted (196) five thousand head of sheep, and 500 of oxen and horses. They had captured a few Moslems besides and made off with their booty.

¹ In the note to the original there is another account of this matter from the chronicle of 'Ali b. Mohammed Shimshati (tutor to Nasir al-daulah's son). He gives the date —8 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sunday, Nov. 30, 962) for the end of the massacres. His account differs in some details from Miskawaihi's, apparently with the object of presenting the conduct of Saif al-daulah and the people of Halab in a better light, and that of the Domesticus in a worse.

² Began Jan. 30, 962.

In this year the qadi ABU BISHR 'UMAR B. AKTHAM was appointed qadi in Baghdad on condition that he should draw no salary ; on the other hand he was to be excused from making the payment which had been made by Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Abi'l-Shawarib.¹ A robe of honour was bestowed upon him, and he was instructed to ratify none of the judgments or acts of that judge. Presently he was appointed Judge of Judges.

In this year the vizier Muhallabi went forth at the head of an army on Wednesday 6 Jumada ii (July 2, 963)² meaning to conquer Oman. He proceeded as far as Haltha at the mouth of the river³ where he fell ill. I repeatedly heard his physician Firoz assert positively that he had been poisoned. When I asked him by whom, he declined to mention any name, till some time afterwards, when this period had closed ; then, when I started the subject, he said : Among those who went on the expedition with Muhallabi was the eunuch FARAJ, his major (197) domo and private manager, accompanied by a number of men at his orders. He was leaving great luxury, pankas, ice and other comforts, and exchanging them for terrific heat, great hardships and an expedition to Oman. So he suborned some of the attendants to poison the vizier by way of getting relief from the journey, as they supposed that the leaders would resign themselves to returning to Baghdad. When Firoz got wind of the plot he asked permission to return to Baghdad, and declined to sail the sea. A large sum was offered him, but he still refused ; he was threatened with imprisonment, but held out, and absolutely refused to proceed. Permission was then given him to return. In the middle of Sha'ban (began Aug. 25) the vizier's illness became serious, and he was taken back to Baghdad delirious and unconscious. His life was despaired of ; a vehicle was manufactured resembling a litter, borne

¹ See above, ii. 188.

² A Friday according to Wüstenfeld.

³ *i.e.*, the Tigris.

by forty men in relays, wherein he could sleep. In this he was carried back by the land route. On Saturday—3 Sha'ban (Sep. 21, 963) in the afternoon he died at Zawata. God have mercy upon him !

When Mu'izz al-daulah heard of his illness, he sent ABU 'ALI HAMULI to make inquiries about him, with orders that if Muhallabi were dead when he arrived, he should place a guard upon his property and dependents. Abu 'Ali Hamuli carried out this order, arrested his clerks and dependents and conveyed them all to the capital. His coffin reached Baghdad on Wednesday 5 Ramadan (Sep. 27, 963)¹; his children and the members of his household (198) including persons who had, *e.g.*, paid him a single visit—were arrested and fined; not even the muleteers and boatmen in the service of his staff were excepted. The procedure adopted was of a sort never employed except against an open enemy. Mu'izz al-daulah's conduct provoked general horror and reprobation. Muhallabi had been vizier thirteen years and three months. With his death the generosity and nobility of the clerical profession came to an end. God have mercy upon him !

After Muhallabi's death the direction of affairs was undertaken by Abu'l-Fadl² and Abu'l-'Abbas,³ neither of whom had the title vizier.⁴

In this year news came to the effect that the people of Tarsus had entered Byzantine territory by a certain pass, while Saif al-daulah's retainer NAJA had entered it by another, and (199) the former had taken a little plunder. Saif al-daulah had stayed in another pass, but had not entered the enemy's land, as he had not recovered from a paralytic stroke which had befallen him two

¹ According to Wüstenfeld a Sunday.

² 'Abbas b. Husain Shirazi.

³ Mohammed b. 'Abbas b. Fasanjas.

⁴ In the note to the original a story is quoted from the *Takmilah* illustrating the refusal of a Christian clerk to reveal Muhallabi's treasure, though tortured, similar to that told i. 66.

years before. When Naja and the people of Tarsus came back, Saif al-daulah returned to Halab ailing, and had a fit which some supposed to be fatal. ¹

Abu'l-Husain Ibn Danha visited Nasir al-daulah's son Hibat Allah to greet him on the occasion of the Festival of Fastbreaking. Hibat Allah was on horseback ; he drew Ibn Danha in conversation till they were opposite a rock, when he flung a javelin which was in his hand at the other, which hit him in the throat. Ibn Danha galloped off hoping to escape, but was overtaken by Hibat Allah, whose act had been dictated by jealousy at advances made by Ibn Danha to one of his slaves. Learning that his uncle had not died of the fit but recovered, Hibat Allah was afraid of his vengeance for the murder of Ibn Danha, and hastened to get away to Harran.

This IBN DANHA is the person who after deserting to Mu'izz al-daulah had left him for Saif al-daulah when he failed to obtain in Baghdad what he had hoped. He did not venture to return to Nasir al-daulah, and fate led him to the end that has been recorded. Naja, Saif al-daulah's retainer, pursued Hibat Allah, but failed to overtake him ; he overtook his baggage, which he secured and brought back to Saif al-daulah. Entering Harran Hibat Allah led the people there to suppose that his uncle was dead ; for he had written to his father Nasir al-daulah to implore assistance, in the hope that troops might be sent him who would enable him to remain in Harran and resist any attempt to dispute his possession of the place. He also requested the people of Harran to swear that they would combat his foes and befriend his friends. Supposing the information which he had brought them to be true, they took the oath which he solicited, making however an exception of the case of the foe being his uncle Saif al-daulah, whom they refused

¹ Cp. Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 54.

to treat as an enemy. Hibat Allah was satisfied with this. Some days later there arrived Saif al-daulah's retainer NAMA, brother of Naja, and Hibat Allah with the people of Harran locked the gates of the town in his face. He, not seeing how to outwit them, gave out that his objective was not Harran but Arzan and Miyyafariqin ; (200) and retiring from Harran in the direction of those places, wrote to his brother Naja to inform him of his experiences, and excite his anger against the citizens of Harran. Naja accordingly advanced to Harran, and on his approach Hibat Allah, abandoning the people of Harran to their fate, fled to his father. Naja took up his quarters outside Harran, whence a deputation of seventy notables came out to greet him. He put them in custody, threatened them with death, and demanded of them a fine of a million dirhems imposed on the city for locking the gates in the face of his brother. He would listen to no excuse. After a series of discussions he consented to accept 320,000. He then sent the deputation back accompanied by cavalry and infantry, required a large sum as earnest money, and demanded the production of the whole sum mentioned on one day ; he was with difficulty persuaded to give them five days' grace. The sum was distributed over the population of the place, Moslems and members of tolerated cults, plebeians, women, including widows, etc. ; men were beaten and scourged in their houses and in the presence of their wives and children ; their goods were seized and what was worth a dinar was offered for a dirhem, and found no purchaser, since every one in the place wanted to sell. Hence the followers of Naja purchased goods and ornaments at their own valuation and for what they chose. The guarantees also weighed heavily on the citizens, and caused the ruin of the place, whose inhabitants were reduced to indigence.

Naja, after obtaining the sum in full, departed for Miyyafariqin, leaving Harran without any government,

so that it was given up to brigandage. He then openly rebelled against his master Saif al-daulah, and repudiated his allegiance. Owing to the general anarchy little was sown in Diyar Mudar this year.¹

(201) YEAR 353.²

In this year news arrived from Harran that some five thousand men from Khorasan who were bent on the Sacred War³ had passed by their city on the way to join Saif al-daulah in Halab. The leader of this expedition had brought it from Khorasan by way of Adharbaijan, whence he had advanced to Armenia, thence to Miyyafariqin, thence to Harran and thence to Halab. Now in the land of Armenia and Manzikert there was a man named Abu'l-Ward, who had made himself master of the country; Naja was anxious to attack him, and was indifferent to the talk of the Sacred War and the Khorasanite leader. He attacked (202) Abu'l-Ward,⁴ defeated him, and seized his fortresses and lands; a large amount of his property came into Naja's possession; he remained in the fortress and became master of the Armenian towns Manzikert, Khilat and Mush.

The Khorasanite champion proceeded to Saif al-daulah, and when the two had met, they went to the help of Massisah. For news had arrived that the Byzantines had been besieging Massisah in great force under the command of the Domesticus, who stayed seven days and drove more than sixty tunnels into the walls, but was unable to penetrate into the city owing to the resistance of the inhabitants. He had then retired, finding

¹ The *Takmilah* cited in the note on the original states that this year for the first time by Mu'izz al-daulah's order the fast of 10 Muharram was kept in Baghdad. Similarly the Shi'ite feast of the Pond was kept on 18 Dhu'l-Hijjah. It adds that owing to the disaster at Halab the Caliph's palace was thronged by Muslims demanding that he himself should lead the sacred war.

² Began Jan. 19, 964.

³ See below, ii. 222 foll.

⁴ This seems to be the Abubart mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Gfroerer iii. 353.

food scarce and prices high, after remaining fifteen days in Islamic territory. He burned the suburbs of Massisah, Adhanah and Tarsus, owing to their inhabitants having helped the people of Massisah. In the engagement they had been defeated by the Byzantines, who slew five thousand of them, whereas the people of Adhanah and Tarsus had slain only a few of the Byzantines.¹ When Saif al-daulah with the Khorasanites reached Massisah, they found the Byzantines had already departed. Owing to the great scarcity of food the Khorasanite troops dispersed among the frontier towns and Halab; most of them returned to Baghdad and thence to Khorasan. Before the retirement of the Domesticus from Massisah (203) he sent word to the inhabitants to the following effect: *I am quitting you not because you are too strong for me or because I am unable to take your city, but because of the scarcity of forage; I am coming back presently, and those of you who would like to migrate elsewhere had best do so before I return; for any whom I find after my return shall be put to death.*

In this year the Kurds made a united attack on the pilgrim caravan that was returning to Khorasan. They seized and plundered it above Hulwan, whither the pilgrims returned.

News came that the dearth was severe in Antioch and along the whole frontier; no-one could get any bread, and the people ate lucern and grass. Some fifty thousand persons migrated from this region to Ramlah, Damascus and elsewhere, hoping to escape the dearth. For the Domesticus was mustering troops with the view of invading Islamic territory, the government was persisting in its ill-treatment of the Harranians after what had been done to them by Naja, flinging burdens (?) upon them, and dealing with them iniquitously; and the dearth both in Harran and Raqqah was exceedingly severe.

¹ Lebeau-Brosset xiv. 70, says, "en tuèrent un grand nombre aux Grecs."

In this year the people of Hajar demanded a gift of iron from Saif al-daulah, who in consequence removed the gates of Raqqah, which were of that material, and blocked up the space. He also seized the iron in Diyar Mudar, taking even the tradesmen's and greengrocer's scales. Presently the people of Hajar wrote to say that they did not require the iron. So the qadi Abu Hasin¹ took the gates and broke them up to make gates for his own house. Then a fresh request for iron came from the people of Hajar. Saif al-daulah accordingly took the gates which the qadi had fabricated and such other iron as he could lay hold on, and despatched it down the Euphrates to Hit, and thence through the desert to Hajar.

In this year ABU'L-HUSAIN BAHILI arrived in Baghdad as Nasir al-daulah's agent to effect a settlement between him and Mu'izz al-daulah. It was settled that Nasir al-daulah should transmit on account of the year 352 a million dirhems of which 300,000 were to be paid in advance, and two million dirhems on account of the years 353 and 354, of which 200,000 were to be paid in advance. The rest was to be paid in instalments. After this had been arranged Nasir al-daulah offered (204) an additional 10,000 dinars on condition that his son ABU TAGHLIB FADL ALLAH GHADANFAR should be officially appointed his successor; but Mu'izz al-daulah declined. On the first day of Jumada ii (June 15, 964) Bahili brought the half million dirhems as agreed and these were received and placed in the treasury.

Mu'izz al-daulah now let it be known that he meant to go to Mausil, and commenced making preparations for the expedition. Bahili requested him to defer starting till he (Bahili) had taken a message to Nasir al-daulah and brought back a reply. He was told to go and demand the refunding of the expenditure which rep-

¹ According to ii. 180, above, he died in 349.

paration for the expedition had involved. When he had started, Mu'izz al-daulah took his tents out to the Shamasiyyah Gate; the Chamberlain Sabuktakin with a number of officers proceeded with the van to Mausil, and was followed by Mu'izz al-daulah, who removed the Bridge which was in Baghdad as far as Sinn, where he placed it across the river, and there crossed with his army to the Western side, proceeding thence by land to Mausil.¹

Bahili had brought back the reply to his message, in which Nasir al-daulah offered to transmit 300,000 dirhems as compensation for the expense involved in the expedition. This offer was not accepted, so Bahili returned from Takrit, and Mu'izz al-daulah continued his march. When Nasir al-daulah learned that Mu'izz al-daulah was near Mausil, having no intention of meeting the latter in battle, he removed from Mausil to Nisibin. Mu'izz al-daulah quitted Mausil for Balad at the end of the day, leaving in Mausil ABU'L-'ALA SA'ID B. THABIT to transmit produce and collect revenue, and BAKTUZUN, SABUKTAKIN 'AJAMI, WAHRI, and a number of Turks and Dailemites to guard the city.

When Nasir al-daulah heard that he was being pursued by Mu'izz al-daulah, he quitted Nisibin for Miyyafariqin on Saturday the middle of Sha'ban (Aug. 27, 964), and being followed thither by the Great Chamberlain, evacuated the place at the latter's approach. The Chamberlain returned to Nisibin, and informed Mu'izz al-daulah that the enemy had retired on his approach, but that he did not know what direction he had taken. Mu'izz al-daulah (205) immediately quitted Nisibin, where he left the Chamberlain with a number of officers, and made for Mausil, whither he feared that Nasir al-daulah might have returned by another route. Now Nasir al-daulah's son Abu Taghlib with his brothers had

¹The reason for this expedition is obscure, as according to the narrative Nasir al-daulah had fulfilled his engagements.

proceeded to Mausil, where a fierce engagement took place between them and the force left there by Mu'izz al-daulah. It went against them, and they retired from Mausil, having burned the *zabzabs* of Mu'izz al-daulah at Balad, and the *zawraqs* of the army in Mausil. News of this affair reached Mu'izz al-daulah, who was satisfied with the success won by his followers in Mausil over the sons of Nasir al-daulah.

Later on Nasir al-daulah united forces with his sons and they made for Mausil, where they defeated Baktuzun, Sabuktakin 'Ajami, and the forces left there by Mu'izz al-daulah. The Dailemites deserted to Nasir al-daulah, who took their shields and burned them. He then gave the men each ten dirhems and dismissed them. He took captive Baktuzun, Sabuktakin and the rest of the Turks, as also Wahri, Sa'id, and AHMAD the Tall, retainer of Musa Fayadhah, who had journeyed from Ahwaz to complain to Mu'izz al-daulah of a loss which he had incurred in the farming of certain revenues which he had undertaken. The Hamdanids seized all the horses, arms and poplin raiment in Mausil belonging to Mu'izz al-daulah, 200,000 dirhems which had been transmitted to him from Baghdad, and 200,000 which were the property of the Chamberlain. He removed all this with the captives into the fort. Hearing of the advance of Mu'izz al-daulah from Nisibin, Nasir al-daulah and his sons decided not to remain, and proceeded to Sinjar. Mu'izz al-daulah had reached Barqa'id before he heard what had befallen his followers in Mausil. Learning there that Nasir al-daulah had arrived in the Jazirah, Mu'izz al-daulah quitted Barqa'id and proceeded thither. Learning however that Nasir al-daulah's son HAMDAN was on his way to him, he halted, and presently was joined by Hamdan, who was deserting to him with 'Ulwan Qushairi. He then proceeded to the Jazirah, but not finding Nasir al-daulah there, advanced to Mausil. (206) On his way he learned what had befallen his followers

there. He wrote to the Chamberlain, who was at Nisibin, bidding him proceed to Balad, whither he himself crossed, sending his baggage to Takrit. At Balad he was joined by the Chamberlain and ABU'L-HAIJA *HARB* son of Abu'l-'Ala Ibn *Hamdan*, who was deserting to him. He then started for Nisibin, and was met by ABU JA'FAR 'ALAWI of that town, who brought a message from Nasir al-daulah wherein he sued for peace. Mu'izz al-daulah rejected it. Abu Taghlib had reached Mausil and taken up his quarters in Dair A'la.¹ During his residence there he gave no provocation to Mu'izz al-daulah's dependents, but left them alone, and made a show of civility.

Hamdan proceeded to *Rahbah*, and engaged *Alptakin* who was there; Mu'izz al-daulah advanced to Mausil, in consequence of which Abu Taghlib evacuated Dair A'la, where Mu'izz al-daulah took up his quarters in his place. *Hazarmard* the Younger, a retainer of Abu Taghlib,² deserted to him; and *MUSAYYAB* and *MUHAYYA'* brought in *KASHMARD* as a prisoner, and were presented with robes of honour, bracelets and collars. Abu Taghlib despatched his friend ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. 'AMR B. *MAIMUN* as envoy to Mu'izz al-daulah, and there was a series of negotiations, which resulted in Abu Taghlib obtaining the right to farm the revenues of the regions which had been in his father's possession, viz. Mausil, *Diyar Rabi'ah* and *Rahbah*, on condition of his transmitting 600,000 dirhems on account of the arrears of the year 353 and 6,200,000 dirhems on account of each of the four subsequent years, ending with 357, the 600,000 dirhems to be transmitted immediately with the prisoners in his hands so as to be in *Hadithah* when Mu'izz al-daulah arrived there. He also undertook to restore that portion of the money and goods taken at the time of *Baktuzun's* defeat which had fallen to his share; and he

¹ Described by *Yaqt* as on a hill overlooking the *Tigris*, and a monastery of unrivalled magnificence. Below it mines of sulphur, copperas and marcassite were discovered.

² To be distinguished from the person mentioned ii. 172,

promised to make search for the remainder and transmit it. This was settled and Mu'izz al-daulah had his signature to the contract attested by the commanders, Witnesses, and the local *qadi*. He then wrote to Alptakin bidding him quit *Rahbah*, and 'Ali b. 'Amr gave his signature guaranteeing the conditions on which they had agreed, and making himself a hostage for their fulfilment by Abu Taghlib. Mu'izz al-daulah (207) then proceeded to *Hadithah*, whither Abu Taghlib's agent brought the money; presently he was joined by *Baktuzun* and *Sabuktakin 'Ajami*, and proceeded to *Baghdad*.

In this year news arrived in *Mausil* that *ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. HASAN*, known as Son of the Propagandist (*Ibn al-Da'i*),¹ had secretly left *Baghdad* for the *Dailemite* country, leaving behind his mother, children and household, not in concealment.

(208) In this year *Saif al-daulah* proceeded to *Miyya-fariqin*, and his followers by a stratagem obtained possession of the fortresses which having belonged to *Abu'l-Ward* had been seized by *Naja*.² *Naja* fled, and the fortresses, Byzantine prisoners, and a brother of *Naja* came into his power.

The *Domesticus* maintained the siege of *Massisah*, but sent *Saif al-daulah* a present of mules, horses, Byzantine satin, and gold ornaments. *Saif al-daulah* sent gifts in return. These proceedings led to the *Domesticus* remaining in Islamic territory for three months, during which he encountered no opposition, though he was unable to take *Massisah*. Finally he departed as the place could not support him, and the pestilence attacked his followers. Hence he was compelled to go away, after money had been given him from *Massisah*.

¹ See above, ii. 78. The authorities cited in the note on the original add that he had enjoyed the favour of Mu'izz al-daulah, but took offence at something said by *Bakhtiyar* during his father's absence.

² The text has "by him," literally "had come into his possession."

In this year there appeared in Kufah a man who professed to be a descendant of 'Ali, and wore a veil. Several engagements were fought between him and Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. 'Umar the 'Alawid. When Mu'izz al-daulah entered Baghdad, the Veiled man fled.

News came that Naja had rejoined his patron Saif al-daulah, and been restored to his post.

(209) YEAR 354.¹

In this year Saif al-daulah's retainers fell upon Naja in his presence with their swords and slew him. Saif al-daulah had a fit at the time, so his wife, the daughter of Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Hamdan, ordered Naja to be dragged by the foot, which was done, and in this style he was removed from her palace, in which the event had taken place; the corpse was flung into a cesspool, where it remained till the following afternoon, when it was brought out, wrapped in grave-clothes and buried.

In this year ABU AHMAD KHALAF IBN ABI JA'FAR IBN BANU was presented by Mu'izz al-daulah to the Caliph, who invested him with the government of Sijistan, bestowed on him a robe of honour and tied a banner for him.

In this year news came to the effect that the Turks had invaded the territory of the Khazars. The latter invoked the aid of the people of Khwarizm, who declined, saying: *You are Jews; if you want us to help you, you must become Moslems.*² They all adopted Islam in consequence with the exception of their king.

News came that when Abu 'Abdallah "son of the Propagandist" reached the Dailemite country, ten thousand men gathered to him, and the son of the 'Alawid

¹ Began Jan. 7, 965.

² See Mas'udi, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii. 8, for the religion of this nation, who are supposed to have adopted Judaism at the time of Harun al-Rashid,

Nasir ⁴ fled from him. He then defeated one of Washmagir's greatest captains, and took the title AL-MAHDI LIDIN ALLAH (the Guided to God's religion).

(210). News also came that the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus had built a city in Caesarea, which is near Islamic territory, and transferred his family thither, in order to be near those Islamic towns which he wished to annex ; and that the people of Massisah and Tarsus had sent to him requesting that he would accept tribute from them, on condition of his sending them a resident, a proposition which he had intended to accept ; only information reached him that the inhabitants of these towns were miserably weak, having no champion nor protector, and no food left, so that the people of Tarsus were reduced to eating dogs and carrion, and that every day a thousand funerals left the place ; so he changed his mind, and summoning their envoy spoke the following parable to him : You are like the snake which when it feels the cold of winter becomes languid and feeble, so that whoever sees it fancies it to be dead. If however a man take it up, is kind to it and warms it, it springs to life and bites him. You are only offering your submission because you are weak ; were I to leave you and let you recover, I should suffer annoyance at your hands. —Taking the letter which the envoy had brought, he burned it over his head, and his beard caught fire. Then he said : Go and tell them that I have nothing but the sword for them.—The envoy accordingly departed, and the Emperor mustered his forces, planning to send one army to (211) Syria, another to the frontier and a third to Miyyafariqin. Saif al-daulah was in the last place, where he had released the Patricii who had been in the hands of Naja ; and there being in the place some thousand *kurr* of wheat, he flung it about, for fear it should fall into the Byzantines' hands.

¹ The pretender Nasir died 325.

Then the Byzantine Emperor sent one of his generals against Massisah,¹ who abode for a time warring against the inhabitants, and presently came himself, and after some time took it by storm. He put the inhabitants to the sword, making a vast massacre. Then he stopped the slaughter and commanded that all who remained in the city, men, women and children, should be dragged to the Byzantine country, some 200,000 persons. Thence he proceeded to Tarsus, which he besieged; the people however offered their submission, and were granted their lives by the Emperor. They opened the gates to him, and he entered and bespoke them fair. He then invited the chief men to his table, and after they had eaten with him he bade them migrate from Tarsus, every man taking such property including weapons as he could carry, leaving the rest. They obeyed and migrated; and he sent three Patricii to escort them. Some Armenians attacked them, but they were stopped by the Emperor, who chastised them, and amputated their noses for having disobeyed his order. During the whole of their journey he kept enquiring after them by message and letter until he learned of their safe arrival in Antioch. Some of them were conveyed by him in *chalands*² by sea whither they wished to go.

Then the Emperor turned the Public Mosque of Tarsus into a stable for his horses, and removed the lamps that were there to his own city. He burned the pulpit. He appointed as governor a Patricius with 5,000 troops, and another as governor of Massisah. He ordered Tarsus to be peopled and fortified, and furnished it with supplies from all quarters. It was accordingly repeopled, and prices were low, two *ratls* of bread being sold for a *danak*. The old inhabitants returned and entered the allegiance of the Emperor, many of them adopting the

¹ Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 71, confuses Massisah with Tarsus.

² The French word is the same as the Arabic, derived from the Byzantine. It means some sort of barge.

Christian religion. He planned making of the place a fortress or stronghold, both on account of its natural strength, and in order to be near those Islamic regions which he meant to annex.¹

(212) (213) Mu'izz al-daulah had despatched KARDAK the Registrar to Oman where he was admitted to the ruler NAFI', who agreed to enter the allegiance of Mu'izz al-daulah, let his name be mentioned in the *khutbah*, and inscribed on dirhems and dinars. To all this Nafi' consented and carried out the last matter; but after the departure of Kardak, when the people of the land learned what Nafi' had done, they rose against him, drove him out of the place, and introduced the followers of the Qarmatians of Hajar, to whom they surrendered their town; the Qarmatians stayed therein during the day, and at the end of the day retired to their camp. They wrote to their chiefs in Hajar to tell them the news and receive instructions concerning the procedure which they were to adopt.

News came that the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus had returned to Constantinople, and that the Domesticus (Ibn Shamshaqiq²) had written to him asking leave to attack Saif al-daulah in Miyyafariqin. The emperor had replied bidding him wait till they met in Constantinople; so he went to join him. Now Saif al-daulah had (214) appointed RASHIQ NASIMI, who was one of the leading men in Tarsus, to the government of the place. When Saif al-daulah went to Diyar Bakr, and this Rashiq (among others) surrendered Tarsus to the Byzantine Emperor, Rashiq migrated to Antioch. There a man of no consequence named IBN AL-AHWAZI, who farmed the environs of Antioch and had amassed money, attached himself to Rashiq, handed over his hoard to him, and

¹ Compare W. J. Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot*, 1917, p. 319: "Through that gorge of shadowy blue, a little East of North, the Pass of the Cilician Gates, to be pointed out by every boy in Arab Tarsus, lay the only road across the mountains separating Faithful and Infidel."

² The person meant is probably Zimisce,

misled him into the belief that Saif al-daulah would never return to Syria. So the two migrated to Halab. Numerous engagements took place between Rashiq and QARGHUYAH,¹ who went up into the citadel and entrenched himself there. Saif al-daulah despatched a black eunuch of his, named BISHARAH, to be with Qarghuyah in the citadel. One day this eunuch came down, and was joined by a party of Arabs who had come to him, and a number of troopers and retainers; when Rashiq became aware of their presence, he took to flight, but falling off his horse was decapitated by an Arab of the Banu Mu'awiyah, who dismounted and recognised him. The Arab brought the head to Qarghuyah and Bisharah. The followers of Rashiq fled, leaving all their property outside Halab. Ibn al-Ahwazi fled to Antioch where a brother of his was living. Here he set up a Dailemite named DIZBAR as Emir (with that title), and obtained the help of an 'Alawid of the line of AFTAS,² who promised him that if he obtained the sovereignty he would make him (Ibn al-Ahwazi) chief controller of affairs. Ibn al-Ahwazi assumed the title *Ustadh*, oppressed the people of Antioch, and amassed wealth. Qarghuyah undertook an expedition to Antioch against him, and an engagement was fought between the two, which for most of the night and part of the day went against Ibn al-Ahwazi, but then went in his favour, as the people of the city supported him.

Saif al-daulah had written to Qarghuyah forbidding him to go to Antioch. The latter after his defeat returned to Halab. When Saif al-daulah returned from the ransoming, he entered Halab, but only stayed for a night, and left the following morning. He fought an engagement wherein he captured Dizbar and Ibn al-

¹ Apparently Saif al-daulah's lieutenant.

² An Aftas of the 'Alawid family is mentioned by Yaqut, *Geograph. Dict.*, iii. 277. Dozy, *Spanish Islam* (tr. Stokes), p. 595, speaks of Aftasid's reigning at Badajoz.

Ahwazi on an estate on the Balis Road called the Ninety; Dizbar's followers fled and Dizbar himself was taken prisoner; (215) Ibn al-Ahwazi got away and flung himself into the tents of the Banu Kilab; but when Saif al-daulah sent to demand him, offering 30,000 dirhems for his person, they surrendered him. He put Dizbar to death and kept Ibn al-Ahwazi in custody for a time. Presently the Byzantine Emperor invaded Syria, and as this event occupied Saif al-daulah, he gave orders that Ibn al-Ahwazi should be brought and put to death in his presence.

In this year Abu Taghlib, son of Nasir al-daulah, transmitted to Mu'izz al-daulah a large sum of money, and the apparel which had been seized in Mausil at the time of the capture of Baktuzun¹; Mu'izz al-daulah accepted the money, but sent the apparel back, saying: There may be some articles therein which have attracted your fancy, and I present them to you. They were very valuable, but he was too proud to resume possession of them.

YEAR 355.²

In this year news came that the Banu Sulaim had robbed the caravan which was making the pilgrimage to Meccah from Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib in the year 354; it was a vast caravan, consisting of pilgrims, merchants and refugees from Syria to 'Iraq, who were migrating for fear of the Byzantines, and carrying some 20,000 bales of goods, of which 1,500 were of a fine Egyptian fabric, and 12,000 of Arabian goods. Among the packages of goods there was a vast quantity of gold and silver, of which 120,000 gold dinars belonged to a man named KHAWATIMI, qadi of Tarsus. The Banu Sulaim took away the camels as well as the goods, so the people remained stranded without mounts, as had

¹ Above, ii. 206.

² Began Dec. 28, 965.

happened to the people at Habir in the year of the Qarmatian.¹ Some returned to Egypt, but the greater number perished.

(216) News came that the 'Alawid Abu 'Abdallah, "son of the Propagandist"², had "put on wool," made profession of asceticism and fasting, hung a Qur'an round his neck, attacked and defeated Washmagir, captured many of his followers and officers, and was planning an expedition to Tabaristan; he further wrote a letter to the people of 'Iraq wherein he summoned them to the Sacred War.

In this year *HABASHI*, son of Mu'izz al-daulah, received the title *Sanad al-daulah* (Support of the Empire), and a public letter announcing this was written in the Caliph's name.

Account of what happened in Oman.

Our narrative of the affairs of Oman reached the point whereat the Qarmatians entered by the choice of the inhabitants.³ With the Qarmatians there was a clerk named 'ALI B. AHMAD, who administered the country and the army. The qadi of the place was a man of family and power, who after the banishment of Nafi' thought in common with the notables that they should install as prince one IBN TUGHAN, an inferior officer, indeed of the lowest rank. Fearing that the superior officers would oust him, he arrested eighty of them, of whom he slew some and drowned others. There came to the place two sister's sons of one of the drowned men; making inquiries about their uncle, they learned that he had been drowned. For a time they lay low; presently on a reception day they entered the presence of Ibn Tughan among others who came to greet him, and when the assembly broke up assaulted him and put him

¹ 311. See above, i. 120. ² See above, ii. 209.

³ Above, ii. 213.

to death. The people now agreed to give the principate to 'ABD AL-WAHHAB B. AHMAD B. MARWAN a relative of the qadi. When they sent to solicit his appearance, he went into hiding; they then compelled the qadi to produce him and force his acceptance of the office. The qadi complied, and sent a message to him, in consequence of which he showed himself, undertook the office, and received homage. He appointed as his secretary that 'Ali b. Ahmad the Clerk who had arrived with the men from Hajar; he agreed with the army that eight months' pay should be given them as a gratuity, in consequence whereof the money was produced, and 'Ali b. Ahmad began handing out to the men (217) the eight months' pay. When he came to the Zanj, men of strength and courage of whom there were six thousand, he said to them: Our prince 'Abd al-Wahhab has ordered me to bestow on *you* only four months' pay. This produced a disturbance among them, and he bade them go and speak to the prince. They started; but when they had got a little way he recalled them to his chamber, and said: If you go to him, he will decline to admit you, and will certainly not give you more than the four months' pay. But what say you to entering *my* service, in which case I shall give you the eight months' pay, and the principate shall be mine? They consented. He handed them the eight months' pay. The white troops were disturbed on account of this, and a brawl arose between them and the Zanj, in which a number of the former were killed. The white troops then acquiesced, made common cause with the Zanj, and swore allegiance to 'Ali b. Ahmad. They then sent a message to 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Ahmad b. Marwan, informing him that they had appointed some one else to rule over them, and that he must leave the country. He departed, and 'Ali b. Ahmad became prince.

In this year Mu'izz al-daulah made an expedition to Wasit in order to war against 'Imran b. Shahin, and

despatched an army to Oman. He left Baghdad on Tuesday 11 Rajab (Aug. 23, 965).¹ NAFI' the negro, freedman of Yusuf b. Wajih, arrived seeking his protection, and was received. After considering what was required in respect of Oman, as shall presently be narrated, he descended from Wasit to Ubullah, and took up his quarters in the Baridis' house there on the Bank of 'Uthman.² He began to make preparations for the despatch of a force to Oman, having previously built *shadha'ahs* and other craft. He required the Dailemites to go to Oman, and all agreed to do so except a party of less than twenty men who declined, and whom he accordingly ordered to be discharged. The Dailemites and Turks now obeyed his wishes, and he invited Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas to go with the army to Oman in the capacity of commander-in-chief, (218) and governor of the country if he conquered it.

On Thursday, the middle of Shawwal (Oct. 4, 966) the expedition started in boats and *shadha'ahs* to the number of a hundred, accompanied by the person named ABU 'ABDALLAH JABB and Nafi' the Negro. When they reached Siraf they were joined by the force of 'Adud al-daulah in vessels of the same type, which he had got ready to assist his uncle.

When Abu'l-Faraj arrived in Oman with his army, he entered and got possession of the country, slew vast numbers of the inhabitants, and burned their fleet of seventy-nine sail. Against 'Imran b. Shahin Mu'izz al-daulah sent 'Abbas b. Husain Shirazi, at the head of an army. He commenced by damming the canals that flowed into the Marshes. Mu'izz al-daulah himself returned to Wasit, and thence to Baghdad, leaving at the former place his army with the retainers and the great Chamberlain, intending to return after twenty

¹ A Sunday according to Wüstenfeld.

² Said to have been presented by the third Caliph to 'Uthman b. al-'As in exchange for the latter's house in Medinah.

days, and finish the business with 'Imran which he had commenced. When he reached Baghdad, he died. It became necessary to make peace with 'Imran, as shall be explained when we treat of his affairs in the year 356.

In this year IBRAHIM the Salar fled before ABU'L-QASIM IBN MISHAKI out of Adharbaijan, and came to the court of Rukn al-daulah with a horse and a riding-whip only, none of his followers having escaped. Rukn al-daulah treated him with honour owing to the alliance which the former had contracted with Ibrahim's father Marzuban, whose daughter (Ibrahim's sister) had borne him his son Abu'l-'Abbas. Rukn al-daulah paid him the utmost respect, and bestowed on him copious presents, of all things required by kings and kept in their stores. I happened to be present in Rayy and rode to see the gifts conveyed to Ibrahim. I stood with a number of sightseers close to Government House, when the conveyance of the gifts began; trays, bales and boxes of wearing apparel of all sorts were there, borne on the heads of a hundred men. Then commenced the gifts of perfume, borne on (219) silver dishes with the cases and other instruments that appertained thereto; these were on the heads of thirty men. Then commenced the sacks of coin which were on men's chests, with the purses of gold. The bags of dirhems were upon fifty men, and the purses of dinars on twenty; the latter were of red silk, and the former of white, that they might be distinguished. Then commenced the stores of textiles on mules, which I did not count; they were followed by riding horses with saddles of gold and silver and horsecloths; then came camels also beautifully equipped, laden with heavy articles of furniture, tents, pavilions, canvas sheets and marquees in great number and of fine quality. I never saw a gift of this size presented at a single time.

Account of the reason for Ibrahim's flight from Adharbaijan in this disgraceful style, and his arrival at Rukn al-daulah's court.

When Ibrahim fled from ISMA'IL B. WAHSUDHAN and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mishaki¹ to Armenia, he started fresh preparations and displayed great energy, writing to the neighbouring princes, Armenian and others, and mustering Kurds. He made peace with Justan b. Sharmzar, and enticed various persons with written promises of governorships and fiefs. It so happened that Isma'il b. Wahsudhan died at this time. Ibrahim went and seized Ardabil, and Ibn Mishaki with a party departed and entered the service of Wahsudhan. Ibrahim advanced to Tarm to dispute the possession of the place with his uncle (Wahsudhan) and seek vengeance for his brothers Justan and Nasir. Wahsudhan felt unable to resist him, and though encouraged to do so by Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mishaki, decided to go off to the Dailemite country. He was accompanied by Ibn Mishaki. Ibrahim entered his territories, maltreated his dependents, ransacked his dwelling, and made search for treasures. After doing him as much mischief as possible for a time he returned to Adharbaijan. Wahsudhan and Ibn Mishaki meanwhile collected (220) forces from all the Dailemite towns, and after mustering and marshalling them returned to Tarm. Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mishaki marched into Adharbaijan, having been supplied by Wahsudhan with money and troops. Ibrahim entered the field against him, and a series of engagements followed, which went against Ibrahim, who took to flight, and being pursued by his uncle Wahsudhan was gradually deserted by his followers, so that he reached Rayy in the condition described, where he took refuge at Rukn al-daulah's court.

In this year the ransoming of prisoners took place between Saif al-daulah and the Byzantines, and the

¹ Above, ii. 180. The latter is not mentioned in that place.

former got back ABU FIRAS HARITH B. SA'ID B. HAMDAN, and Abu'l-Haitham son of the qadi Abu Hasin.¹

(221) In this year the Caliph bestowed on Abu Mansur Buwaihi, son of Rukn al-daulah, the title MU'AYYID AL-DAULAH (Helper of the Empire).

(222) In this year a vast host arrived from Khorasan.²

Account of the Raiders who came from Khorasan ; their plot against the Dailemites in Rayy ; and the failure of their enterprise after they had got the upper hand.

News came to Rukn al-daulah in Rayy that a body of men whose numbers were estimated at 20,000 were advancing from Khorasan, proclaiming themselves bent on the Sacred War. The guardian of the frontier, Asfuzan b. Ibrahim, was alarmed by them, because after crossing the frontier they proceeded to do damage. He addressed them himself and sent messages to their chiefs, but could get no redress ; further he found their conduct unlike that of soldiers of the Sacred War ; they had no single leader, the natives of each place being led by one of themselves. When the letter of Asfuzan arrived, giving an account of them, the truly Chief Ustadh (Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid) advised Rukn al-daulah to refuse them permission to cross the frontier in a body, and inform them that some two thousand of their number might proceed to Rayy, and when these had departed then another detachment of about the same number might cross, and so on successively, so that they might occasion no mischief nor be tempted to misbehave themselves. Rukn al-daulah rejected his advice, saying : I do not want the kings to tell each other that I took precautions against the riffraff of Khorasan, and was afraid of their

¹ There is a fuller account of this event in the Table-talk, where Saif al-daulah's despatch is given in full. There are some details cited from Dhahabi in the note on the original dealing with the continuation of the war between Saif al-daulah and the Byzantines, but they seem to be inaccurate.

² Compare above, ii. 201.

creating a disturbance. His vizier (the truly Chief Ustadh) said to him : If you object to doing this, then write to your armies, which are scattered over the Jabal, Ispahan and elsewhere, to join you ; for you have but a small number with you in Rayy, and are not sufficiently protected. I cannot be sure but that these people have an understanding with the ruler of Khorasan ; their number is large, and they are equipped as raiders ; whereas we are entirely unprepared.—This proposal too was rejected by Rukn al-daulah, who declined to take notice of the bands, and wrote to the guardian of the frontier, bidding him give them permission to cross, and leave their way clear so as not to give occasion for trouble.

The bands accordingly advanced in a body, bringing with them a number of elephants and one of vast size until they arrived in Rayy ; (223) their leaders gathered there in the chamber of the Chief Ustadh, requesting him to ask the prince Rukn al-daulah to grant them a sum of money as help to their enterprise. He promised to do so, supposing that a small sum would suffice them, as raiders ; they however demanded a great sum, saying : We require the entire land-tax of the provinces which are in your hands, for you may only collect it for the Treasury of the Moslems, to be used in case of emergency ; and there can be no greater emergency than the ambition of the Byzantines and Armenians to conquer us and gain possession of our frontiers, and the inability of the Moslems to resist them.—In addition they demanded that an army should be sent out to join them. They indulged in this sort of talk, made extravagant demands and raised their voices ; they had with them various jurists and sheikhs of Khorasan, such as QAFFAL and others.

The chief Ustadh perceived their malicious intentions and was now assured of what he had suspected, viz., that they meant to make mischief and stir up strife. Still he

treated them with gentleness and forbearance. Finding that they could not make any progress by talking with him and worrying him, they proceeded to address the Dailemites, whom they cursed as Unbelievers. It was in the month of Ramadan.¹ They would come out at night, armed with their swords, spears, bows and arrows, and under the pretence of "enjoining right" would rob the people of their kerchiefs and turbans. If they could search a man and seize all his possessions, they did not stop short of doing so. Still the people were patient with them. It happened however that a dispute broke out between them and one of the followers of IBRAHIM B. BABI, going beyond what the latter could endure; it led to a fight, wherein the Dailemite was killed. His comrades gathered to the fray; some thousand of the raiders then collected at the gate of (224) Ibrahim b. Babi, who came out to protect his followers. He resisted the raiders for a time, till he received a message from Rukn al-daulah, bidding him stop. He sent a similar message to the raiders, but they would not obey. The Dailemites and their neighbours then hastened to the assistance of the Dailemites and a battle commenced; and when night separated the combatants, the Khorasanites returned to their camp, but kept beating drums the whole night and expressing their determination to fight. The next morning early they carried out their intention, entering the city from the direction of Ajran,² where was the palace of the Chief Ustadh. The latter came out to meet them, preceded by his chamberlain RUWAIN, a man of high courage, who charged them at the head of the retainers of the Chief Ustadh's palace, and defeated them in a fight. They retired to the street whence they had issued, but presently returned with increased numbers. He however did not flinch till he

¹ Began Aug. 21, 966.

² The reading of this name is uncertain, as the geographers do not appear to mention the place.

was wounded by a spear which entered the sleeve of his cuirass, and penetrated to his fore-arm, which it tore open. He was overwhelmed by numbers, but was defended by the Turks who were with him till he was brought back to his house exhausted from loss of blood. The Chief Ustadh sustained a defeat, and being deserted by his followers maintained his ground by himself according to his wont. The Salar who was present clove to him, but said: Come back to the Prince, Ustadh, and do not afflict him with the loss of you, for no-one remains about you. Laying hold of the Ustadh's bridle the Salar made him retire, and I heard him say: Lay it all on me, and you are clear from the reproach thereof.—The two retired to the Government House, and the Khorasanites occupied themselves with plundering the Ustadh's palace, stables and stores, which were newly filled, till nightfall, when they departed. I was in charge of his Library, and this only among his stores remained intact and was not touched. When at night time he returned to his palace, he could find nothing to sit down upon, nor even a jug to drink water out of. IBN HAMZAH the 'Alawid sent him some bedding and furniture. His thoughts were for his papers, than which he cherished nothing more, and indeed they were numerous, containing every form of science, and every species of wisdom and learning; there was a hundred camels' burden of them or more. When he saw me, he asked about them, and when I replied that they were as they had been and untouched, he was relieved, and said: I declare that you are a bringer of luck! All my other stores can be replaced, it is only this (225) store which could not be replaced.¹—I saw that he had quite cheered up. He then said: To-morrow morning transfer them to a certain place.—I did so, and they out of his whole property escaped intact.

¹ Compare the words of Ibn 'Abbas of Almeria in Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, tr. Stokes, p. 614.

The following day¹ the Khorasanites gathered anew, having at the end of the previous day inflicted a defeat on Rukn al-daulah, and been encouraged thereby. They had come to the gate of the Chamberlain Ruwain, meaning to plunder his palace; he was himself prostrate and unable to move, but ordered his retainers to pile the fire-wood that had been got ready for the winter behind the gate and set fire to it. This being done they were unable to reach the house by the gate, and tried to climb over the wall; but being shot with arrows by the retainers they withdrew. They intended to renew their attempt the next morning; but Rukn al-daulah sent them a civil message, urging them to leave his kingdom. There was however no means of dealing with them, for their plans had already been made in Khorasan, whence they were expecting reinforcements to overtake them. Rukn al-daulah was advised by his counsellors to migrate to Ispahan with his children and womenfolk, and leave Rayy to these invaders till he had got his armies together and could attack them with adequate numbers and supplies. He refused, preferring to risk his life and his dynasty; for he had with him only five hundred of his officers and guards, and some three hundred of his retainers, the rest of his army, being, as we have mentioned, distributed over their provinces.²

On the following day, Wednesday the middle of Ramadan (Sep. 5, 966), the Khorasanites approached the gates of the city in separate parties, attacking from every quarter. The streets and public places were filled with them and they issued a proclamation intended to quiet the citizens and the subjects. They then advanced to the Government House, where was the Prince with his children and his stores. The Chief Ustadh had given orders to have everything loaded which admitted of conveyance, and that the womenfolk and young children

¹ Apparently the day after the moving of the library.

² Probably this means the provinces assigned to the respective commanders,

should be hurried off to the Ispahan Road, to await the result of the conflict. They were mounted on their horses ready to start in the direction they wanted, and the promenade of the palace was so crowded with the mules laden with the store-chests (226) and with the litters that there was no room for Rukn al-daulah to pass between them. He was on horseback with his household retainers, accompanied by the Chief Ustadh and a number of his officers and attendants, but owing to the crowding of the persons whom I have mentioned they could find no passage. Clubs were brought into play, and numerous boxes broken and mules wounded before a way was made for the riders who, violently jostled and disagreeably squeezed, got through into the road. I was with the people. The Khorasanites had got near the gate, bringing ladders, on the supposition that Rukn al-daulah would entrench himself in his palace. He however left it from the direction of the parade-ground, while his chamberlains went out by the other doors, coming in collision with the Khorasanites, whom the Dailemites attacked gallantly in the narrow streets and forced back into the open country from the region called The Tree, after we had come near losing our lives and the dynasty had been threatened with dissolution. When they got into the open they arrayed their troops for battle.

Account of a successful stratagem extemporised by Rukn al-daulah.

When the Dailemites in the service of Rukn al-daulah perceived the numbers of the enemy and how few they were themselves, they were discouraged, and began to declare that they were taken in the rear. Rukn al-daulah who was seriously alarmed, bade his followers be of good cheer ; for, he said, those who are behind us are our friends.—He assured them that 'ALI B. KAMAH had arrived. He then ordered the stirrup-holders and out-

riders to hurry in the direction whence 'Ali b. Kamah would be coming, with instructions to gallop and raise as much dust as they could. These orders were obeyed, and when the clouds of dust rose, the people cried out *Allah Akbar! Here is 'Ali b. Kamah!* Rukn al-daulah then encouraged them to charge before he arrived. The Dailemites being cheered up and confident that reinforcements were approaching, charged, and the charge was decisive. The Khorasanites were hurled back upon each other; Rukn al-daulah also intrigued with one of their leaders to desert to him, promising security and a reward. This man accepted the offer; the army in consequence fell to pieces, underwent a terrible massacre, and sued for peace: which was granted them (227) with the further concession that the way should be left open to them. A number of them had got into the town, where they were slaughtering any whom they found in Dailemite costume. When they cut a man's throat, they cried out *Allah Akbar* as is done over unbelievers in their lands. Whilst they were doing this, the Dailemites returned flushed with victory, and meant to deal with them. They slew a certain number, but then Rukn al-daulah proclaimed an amnesty, and bade the Dailemites spare them. At nightfall the Khorasanites took themselves off on a line parallel with the Qazwin Road, fleeing headlong without thought of one another.

After these there arrived another mounted detachment about two thousand strong with arms and equipment, but before they overtook their comrades the latter were routed and in disorder; Rukn al-daulah sent to them bidding them stay where they were, and not continue their expedition, as he was afraid they might combine again and do mischief in Qazwin or some other part of his dominions. They disobeyed his message and went on in the wake of their comrades. Rukn al-daulah immediately went in pursuit. Galloping after them he

overtook them. A pitched battle was fought wherein he slew a number of them, and compelled the survivors after they had sued for peace to return to Rayy. He then gave them permission to proceed, releasing the prisoners whom he had taken, and assigning them journey-money. They then went on their way, but all fear of them and respect for them had vanished from men's breasts. Had they gone forward with their original verve, they would have dealt havoc with the Byzantines, and would have been joined by many Moslem raiders. God however has a purpose which He is compassing.

I heard the Chief Ustadh say after this event: I never saw more stalwart men than those; it was the number of chiefs and their mutual jealousy which disorganized them. They had opportunities which would have brought them complete success, had they taken advantage of them. One was the day when they entered Rayy. They passed in procession by the gate of the Prince, who was off his guard, with very few soldiers at his gate. Had they broken in, no-one would have stood between him and them. Another was the night they entered the town. Had they remained and attacked Government House, no-one would have stirred to oppose them. It was the middle of (228) the month with the moon full, and the night was as clear and bright as the following morning. Only their plan was to enter the town on the day of the Feast of Fast-breaking,¹ when the inhabitants would be engaged in prayer at their Oratory, and off their guard. They were also awaiting their promised reinforcements, whose near approach was being announced to them by rumours and messages. They based their plans on this; but destiny had in store a divine favour for Rukn al-daulah, by reason of his

¹ Sept. 20, 966.

sincerity, the prayers of his subjects on his behalf, and God's care for mankind.¹

In these actions Ibrahim the Salar did good service and played a heroic part. He was wounded in the belly by a spear, which however owing to his corpulence did not reach the entrails ; (229) it left however a gap which he used to bind up with bandages and pads till his death which happened a few years later.

In this year Rukn al-daulah despatched the Chief Ustadh with Ibrahim the Salar at the head of an auxiliary force of picked men, Dailemites, Arabs, and other forces, for the reconquest of Adharbaijan. The Chief Ustadh won over to his side the local rulers and the Kurdish chieftains ; he induced Justan b. Sharmzan to become his subject ; and when he had finished all this, and secured him peaceful possession of all parts of his realm, returned to Rukn al-daulah's capital Rayy.

Account of a wise scheme proposed by the Chief Ustadh, but not accepted, and the consequences of its rejection.

When the truly Chief Ustadh visited Adharbaijan, he perceived the richness of the land, its productiveness, the abundance of its waters, and the opportunities which it offered for cultivation. Making a calculation of the revenue which it might be expected to furnish, he found that it was equal or nearly equal to that of Rukn al-daulah's dominions. He observed however that the amount which Ibrahim the Salar got out of it was wretchedly small, this being due to his maladministration, his neglect of business, his devoting his time to sport, women and constant potations, and the exploitation of his weakness by various persons with whom he had dealings, especially the Kurds, who treated those regions

¹ The sequel is given by Dhahabi, quoted in the note to the text. The Khorasanites proceeded to Miyyafariqin, where they were well received by Saif al-daulah's son. Various raids are enumerated wherein they took part with success. Ultimately their leader Mohammed b. 'Isa was captured, but ransomed himself for a vast sum,

as their prey. Further Ibrahim had a reputation for extortion and bad faith, and no reliance could be placed on his oath or undertakings. The Chief Ustadh perceived that so soon as he left the region Ibrahim's situation would return to what it had been before; conspiracies against him would immediately be started, he would be expelled from the city¹ and then from the whole province, or else be killed, and so the labour spent by Rukn al-daulah and by himself be wasted. He therefore wrote to Rukn al-daulah about the situation of the province and that of Ibrahim therein, and set forth the amount which he got out of it. He suggested that he should himself undertake the government of the province, out of which he promised to raise fifty million dirhems, and compensate Ibrahim for what he got, which amounted to (230) less than two million dirhems after what had to be deducted in the fiefs of the Dailemites and Kurds, and what was appropriated by arbitrary persons who could not be made to discharge their obligations, and what was wasted by carelessness and neglect of cultivation. He proposed compensating Ibrahim to that amount out of the revenues of Rayy, Ispahan or Hamadhan, and he might then sit in quiet and comfort, and enjoy the society which he so greatly appreciated of minstrels and buffoons. The Chief Ustadh would take possession of Adharbaijan, and raise from it for Rukn al-daulah the sum that has been mentioned. He expected to be able to raise more, but of this amount he was sure.

Rukn al-daulah declined this proposal, being moved by the considerations which affect persons of his magnanimity. People will say, he remarked, that having conquered a country for the benefit of a man who had thrown himself on my protection, I coveted it for myself! So he ordered the Chief Ustadh to bring his army home and hand the country over to Ibrahim.

¹ Ardabil,

I remember how one day I was sitting in the presence of the Chief Ustadh, when he was telling me of the sufferings endured by him and his army in this expedition, and of the poverty of the results. Had it resulted in any lasting benefit to Ibrahim, he would have tolerated the vexations and been glad of the fair fame which it would have brought him afterwards. But, he said, I will tell you what the present condition of affairs resembles; and do you ponder thereon so that you may remember it later. Have you ever seen silk-spinners winding it on a number of distaffs attached to hooks on clubs (as it were) of glass?—I said I had.—He went on: Do not you know that all the trouble of the worker consists in setting up and arranging the machine; after that he has only to watch the tails of the distaffs and keep on twisting them? Now we have arranged the machine, the distaffs are revolving, the silk is taut, and the winding is proceeding; but if we leave the place the force of the revolution will weaken, there being no motor power to renovate it; it will begin to slacken, the velocity of the revolution of the distaffs will be reduced, and they will begin to unwind (231) revolving in the inverse direction. No-one will be there to attend to them, so that one by one they will fall off, and finally none remain.¹

His parable might have been an inspiration, for it missed no detail of the situation of Ibrahim after our departure. After the good order which had been introduced into his affairs his dominions became the prey of adventurers, by whom he was gradually stripped of everything, and ultimately captured and imprisoned in one of the fortresses, as we hope to recount later on.

YEAR 356.²

In this year Mu'izz al-daulah undertook his expedition against 'IMRAN B. SHAHIN, ruler of the Marshes

¹ The translator has been unable to find any illustration of the machine described.

² Began Dec. 17, 966.

(Bata'ih), whom he made up his mind to engage in battle, declining offers of peace or payment, and accepting no terms which did not include 'Imran's presenting himself on Mu'izz al-daulah's carpet. It came to pass that Mu'izz al-daulah had an attack of diarrhoea, and feeling weak, returned to Wasit, leaving Sabuktakin in charge of the army. He imagined that he would recover and resume the command; but the illness grew worse, no food would stay in his stomach, so, knowing himself to be dying, he returned to Baghdad. He appointed as his successor his son BAKHTIYAR 'IZZ AL-DAULAH. He made show of repentance, and summoning the chief theologians and jurists, asked them what repentance meant, and whether it was valid in such a case as his. They replied that it was valid, and proceeded to instruct him in what he should say and do. He gave away most of his property in alms, manumitted his slaves, and returned large sums that had been improperly seized. His death was in Rabi' ii, 356 (began March 16, 967). His career contained many episodes (232) besides those narrated above, e.g., his sending a fleet with Dailemite forces to Oman and reconquering it. But as they contained nothing which could serve for an example we have suppressed them.¹

At the time of his death a fortunate incident occurred to 'Izz al-daulah which we have thought fit to record in order that it may take its place among similar remarkable coincidences.

Account of a fortunate incident.

When Mu'izz al-daulah died, it rained incessantly for three days and nights in Baghdad, and so severely as to prevent people from getting about. The Dailemites were unable to show their heads, and the other people were prevented from coming out. The sergeants went from one to another of the leaders, and gave them

¹ But see above, ii. 218.

such sums as satisfied them and kept them quiet. So when the sky cleared the army was quiet and the rest of the people satisfied. 'Izz al-daulah wrote to Sabuktakin and the rest of the army, bidding them make terms with 'Imran b. Shahin, and return to Baghdad. This was done, and the pressure on 'Imran relieved. Peace was also made with the ruler of Mausil,² and Bakhtiyar became established in his government.

In this year news arrived of a great army advancing from Khorasan with Ibn Simjur to unite with Washmagir.

Account of the reason for this.

When ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. ALYAS¹ became paralysed in Kirman, and his sons rebelled against him, and he was attacked by 'Adud al-daulah, he departed to Khorasan, where he was received by the ruler, and partially recovered. He became a messmate of the ruler, and his familiar companion. He suggested to him to attack the dominions of the Dailemites, holding out hopes of their conquest. He further told him that the commanders of his armies were disloyal and accepted gifts and bribes. This agreed with complaints which had been made by Washmagir on repeated occasions. Correspondence then proceeded between Washmagir, the ruler of Khorasan, and likewise Hasan b. (233) Fairuzan, which terminated in a covenant and agreement that Washmagir should command all the armies. The ruler of Khorasan then sent numerous gifts of horses, slaves and arms to both Washmagir and Hasan, and continuous reinforcements of troops under his commander-in-chief MOHAMMED B. IBRAHIM B. SIMJUR, on the understanding that the supreme command was to be Washmagir's.

Rukn al-daulah had been unprepared for this, and when he heard of it was conscious that things had come

¹ Abu Taghlib Faḍl Allah, son of Nasir al-daulah.

² See above, ii. 176.

to a head and only the crisis remained. He wrote to 'Adud al-daulah requesting help in men and supplies, and in similar terms to Bakhtiyar. 'Adud al-daulah sent him some cavalry commanded by ABU JA'FAR IBN RUZMAN, and himself proceeded to Istakhr, with the intention of invading Khorasan. He despatched one of his chamberlains with the van to Turaithith, and circulated a statement among his army that the army of Khorasan had gone in a body together with the riffraff of the cities and the "raiders" to Rayy, leaving Khorasan empty; nothing therefore stood in the way of its conquest. This report got to the people,¹ whom it alarmed. Then there happened the fall of Washmagir by the blow of the boar, and the whole scheme came to naught.

Account of this extraordinary accident.

It so happened that Washmagir had his horses paraded before him, including those which had been brought to him from the ruler of Khorasan. Among them there was a handsome black horse, which he admired. He ordered it to be saddled and made up his mind to go out hunting upon it that day. His astrologer presented himself before the prince and advised him not to ride. Washmagir rejected his advice. When he got into the fields his path was crossed by a boar which had got away from Washmagir's companions, having been shot with a spear which stuck in its flesh. It charged Washmagir, who appeared to be unconscious of its approach and wounded both him and his horse. The latter reared, and threw Washmagir, who fell on the top of his head; blood flowed out of his nose and ears, and he was carried home dead. This was on Saturday 1 Muharram, 357 (Dec. 7, 967).

(234) Bakhtiyar had tried hard to induce Sabuktakin to go out at the head of a vast force as usual, but the

¹ Probably the army of the coalition.

latter had declined. This alarmed Bakhtiyar, who was embarrassed as well, since he could find no-one ready to obey his order to lead the expedition. Ultimately Alptakin expressed his willingness. He was inferior to Sabuktakin in rank, but, owing to the rivalry between the two, glad to show his superior loyalty. Bakhtiyar put an army under his command, which proceeded to Rayy, but, finding there was no longer need for it there, returned.

Account of Bakhtiyar's mismanagement of his realm and misconduct of himself whereby his army became disorganized, and preyed upon him, which was presently done by his enemies also, so that his ruin was achieved.

When his father Mu'izz al-daulah knew that he was about to die, he had charged Bakhtiyar to obey Rukn al-daulah, and consult him about all matters of importance that arose ; and likewise to obey his cousin 'Adud al-daulah, who was his senior and a more skilled administrator. He charged him further to confirm in their appointments his two secretaries Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain (Shirazi) and Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas (Ibn Fasanjas), they being more competent than others and better acquainted with the branches of the service. He also charged him to conciliate the Dailemites and satisfy their requirements, when the times for their pay arrived, so that they might not weaken his authority by mutiny and the stirring up of strife. He charged him besides to be kind to the Turks, since they were the strength of his army, and if the Dailemites occasioned him any anxiety, he could suppress them by the aid of the Turks. He charged him besides kindly treatment of the Turks to bestow the same on his court-attendants both small and great, and maintain them in receipt of their customary dues. Bakhtiyar disobeyed every one of these counsels, spent his time in sport,

amusement, the society of buffoons, singers and women, offended both his secretaries and set them against each other, yet so that both were exasperated with him, and hankered after the fiefs of his chief courtiers, and especially those of Sabuktakin, his commander-in-chief, without whom Mu'izz al-daulah had ordered him to take no decision, (235) and who indeed was an astute statesman, of well established authority with the army, feared and obeyed by every one. He secluded himself from the army by spending his time, as I have mentioned, in constant amusement and intoxication. Then he started estrangement between himself and 'Adud al-daulah by forbidding the agent of the latter in Baghdad to purchase horses and commodities which he was in the habit of ordering and had been permitted to obtain. Bakhtiyar also omitted to consult his uncle Rukn al-daulah on emergencies that arose. The result of this was that when his commander-in-chief Sabuktakin learned of Bakhtiyar's designs on himself and his fortune, he was alienated, and neither rode to him nor placed any confidence in him. and used to confine himself to sending communications through intermediaries. Sabuktakin had secret service men in the army, and especially in Bakhtiyar's palace, and indeed had "eyes" and spies among his most intimate and personal attendants. Not a movement of Bakhtiyar's therefore escaped him and still less any of his plans. And when the two secretaries Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain and Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas perceived his design to embroil them with each other, they having previously been competitors for rank and jealous of each other's fortune, were both on their guard against him, while he plotted against them and ultimately with the aid of the one ruined the other. He then arrested the other by the instrumentality of the vilest and lowest among the retainers of the court, and put both into the power of the basest of society. His realm becoming disordered he was compelled to rely on worth-

less individuals whom he had elevated, incompetent to manage a village or to mediate between two individuals, still less between the government and a mutinous army. His affairs therefore went rotten, root and branch.

As for the Dailemite chieftains and leaders, they were banished by him from his domains as he hankered after their fiefs, their goods and those of their associates. The humbler sort became arrogant, despised him, conspired against him, and demanded increase of pay; he was compelled to surrender to their terms, and was afterwards unable to satisfy them. The Turks, seeing how the Dailemites had got their way with him, imitated (236) their exorbitance, violence, browbeating and employment of insolent language towards him. He was compelled to scheme against them and rid himself of them. He began with Sabuktakin, who however was cautious and vigilant, and no scheme against him succeeded. The Turks in consequence formed a party and made common cause. The grudges and resentments which the Dailemites harboured against Mu'izz al-daulah were reawakened; they appeared in the country with arms and shields, and demanded that those who had been removed from the rolls should be reinstated, that their pay should be given them, and that an extra four months' pay as accession money should be distributed without delay. Bakhtiyar collected the Turks with their arms into his Palace to protect him, leaving the Dailemites in the fields three days. This angered the latter who became all the more extortionate and importunate in their demands. Finally he compromised with them and paid them one third of a *razqah* extra.

He gave the fief-holders their choice between retaining their fiefs and exchanging them for others. Of the Dailemites who had been expunged from the rolls he reinstated all who were of genuine Dailemite or Jilite origin, but not those who did not properly belong to these nations though they had mingled with them.

When the Dailemites had succeeded and re-entered the town, the Turks in their turn organized a mutiny, went out into the country, summoned the inferior household retainers from Bakhtiyar's palace to come out with them, and made a league and covenant that they would co-operate, great helping small and the strong the weak. Now considerable sums had accumulated out of the revenues assigned them as increase on their original pay by Mu'izz al-daulah¹; they demanded that these should be paid in full, and that Bakhtiyar should follow the system of his father in his appointment of chamberlains, officers and sergeants, and promotion in rank and honour. Presently the Dailemites and Turks made a compact that they would not oppose each other's demands for amelioration of their condition, and gave an undertaking to that effect. Necessity then forced Bakhtiyar to promise them (237) all they demanded, and set about fulfilling his promise. He had not the means for accomplishing this even partially; he was compelled therefore to question his viziers as to the possibility of devising schemes for procuring the money and to consider how to collect it from any sources and by any means.

ABU'L-FADL 'ABBAS was bolder and more energetic than Abu'l-Faraj, and promised them the money. He relied on the Persian secretary, Shirzad b. Sarkhab, who had influence with Bakhtiyar, and was high in favour with him; Bakhtiyar listened to his words and was guided by his advice. Abu'l-Fadl promised him a secret profit for his services and a sum to be paid annually. Shirzad intrigued to procure him the Vizierate. It was promised him but on the following terms: *If you give proof of your competence by satisfying the army and accomplishing the other things which you have undertaken, the vizierate shall be restricted to you.*—Abu'l-Fadl thereupon began to fine the courtiers, demanding of them sums which he knew they would be able to pay without being

¹ Above, ii. 173, 174.

ruined. He also started collecting the land-tax. By strenuous efforts he succeeded in paying the Dailemites what he had promised them, while he sent the Turks away to different regions to call in the revenues that had been assigned them. They too obtained their demands. This was because the resources were as yet fresh, and it was the first operation of the sort; he found the fortunes of the courtiers abundant and the lands still under cultivation. Hence he was able to keep things going this year.

News of his proceedings reached ABU'L-FARAJ MOHAMMED B. 'ABBAS, who at the time was in Oman, whither he had led an expedition in the life-time of Mu'izz al-daulah,¹ and where he had fought a series of engagements with the inhabitants, resulting in their subjection. When he learned of Mu'izz al-daulah's death and Abu'l-Fadl's designs upon the vizierate, with the intrigues of Shirzad in his favour, he without delay handed the province over to a native of Oman named IBN NABHAN, averring that he had received orders to evacuate the country and deliver it to the agent of 'Adud al-daulah.² He then hastened towards Iraq. As he approached it, he was met by the agents of his brother Abu Mohammed 'Ali b. 'Abbas the Treasurer, and his clerks, with letters advising him to hasten without delay to the capital before Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain had actually been invested with the vizierate. He arrived; (238) and the people divided into two parties. Each of the two was on the look-out for the other's mistakes, and wanted the vizierate for himself. Presently Abu'l-Fadl by the help of Shirzad succeeded in securing it.

Account of a sound policy recommended by Nasir al-daulah to the Hamdanids, which was rejected.

When the sons of Nasir al-daulah heard of the disorder in Bakhtiyar's affairs, his mismanagement, his

¹ Above, ii. 317, 318.

² At this time ruler of Fars.

spending in sport and incessant intoxication the time which should have been devoted to affairs of state, the mutiny of his troops and his loss of authority, they bethought them of bringing out their treasure, and proceeding to Baghdad to challenge Bakhtiyar's possession of the royal throne. Their father Nasir al-daulah said to them: Do not hurry, for Mu'izz al-daulah has bequeathed to his son a modest store of money, which he will distribute among his present troops, and further supplies will be drawn by his clerks and officials to the extent of their ability from the provinces and fines imposed on his dependents. You will be no match for him, nor in a position to oust him till his schemes are at an end and his hand is empty. When that time arrives, then proceed against him, and use your wealth to tamper with the loyalty of his followers. You are sure then to get the better of him.—The wise policy for them was what he stated; for Mu'izz al-daulah had squandered his wealth on the building which he started and on the Turks of whom he made favourites. The amount which he left was 400,000 dinars; which was expended gradually by Bakhtiyar as necessity arose and fresh claims were brought. His clerks used to borrow from him for these emergencies, undertaking to replace the sums, which they were afterwards unable to do. And so after a short space the whole was exhausted in expenses and over emergencies.

There was dissension between the *Hamdanids*, which distracted their attention from their father's counsel. The mischief commenced by Abu Taghlib arresting his father Nasir al-daulah, when he perceived that the latter had grown old, with no capacity left in him except ill-nature and stinginess to his children and staff. Abu Taghlib, having arrested his father, took him up to the citadel, where he placed him in the custody of servants who were to supply his wants. Some of Abu Taghlib's brothers resisted this measure, (239) and so there was a

rift in their harmony, and they had enough to do in maintaining what they had without seeking what was not theirs; and Abu Taghlib found it necessary to conciliate the Sultan and get a renewal of his farming contract, and solicit the robes of honour, with deeds of investiture and a contract to be used as evidence with his troops and as assistance against his brothers, both those who were against him and those who were on his side. He despatched his secretary ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. 'AMR B. MAIMUN to obtain these concessions from the Sultan. He offered Bakhtiyar 1,200,000 dirhems a year as before, and went home to his master after discharging his commission, satisfied with his success, and with no further anxiety about what he had feared.

In this year the veteran monarchs died one after the other. It was the commencement of the ninth conjunction.¹ There perished Mu'izz al-daulah Ahmad b. Buwaihi, Nasir al-daulah was arrested by his son Abu Taghlib, there perished Saif al-daulah, the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus, Kafur ruler of Egypt, Washmagir b. Ziyar,² Hasan b. Fairuzan, (240) Abu 'Ali Mohammed b. Alyas, and a number of their likes. The sole survivor was Rukn al-daulah who lived on till he had exhausted his term.

YEAR 357.

Account of the schemes of each of the two secretaries to secure the vizierate and their mutual counterplotting.

We have recorded above how Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain kept things going during the year in which he laid hands on the property of the courtiers, found other resources in the provinces, and extorted from the officials, so as to satisfy the demands of the army. He proceeded to adopt a high tone with Bakhtiyar, and no

¹ *i.e.*, of Jupiter and Saturn. It seems natural that they should be thought to portend ill luck to monarchs. It is not clear what "the ninth" means, and an astrologer consulted by the translator was unable to explain it.

² Above, ii. 233, the first day of 357 was given as the date.

longer restraining his tongue asserted that he had given proof of the competence which he had promised; he declared that the revenue of the empire did not balance the outgoings, but that if he were appointed vizier he would restore the balance, and maintain things as he had done that year. He also promised a reward to Shirzad if he secured the vizierate for him. When he departed to Kufah to settle the affairs of the fief-holders in Saqy al-Furat, Shirzad worked hard to get him the vizierate, and finally Bakhtiyar assented, Abu'l-Faraj, hearing of this, tried his utmost to make Bakhtiyar revoke his intention, asserting that there was no truth in Abu'l-Fadl's statement that the revenue did not balance the outgoings, that the money which he had collected and wherewith he had kept things going had been got from fines inflicted and arrears due from the provinces, that he (241) had performed no real service, and won no victory, and therefore deserved no honours which others of his station might not claim.

Abu'l-Fadl, hearing of this, galloped back from Kufah. Discussions took place between them, which led to their each drawing up a memoir of main revenue and additional revenue, and another of main (permanent) expenditure, and casual expenditure, in order that the reason of their disagreement might be known. They remained in the office with their clerks till these memoirs were drawn up. Abu'l-Faraj entered in his memoir the contracts with the revenue-farmers according to the assessments, including items some of which were in practice withheld, reduced the casual expenditure, and omitted to make provision for it, and in this fashion he showed no deficit, and made revenue balance expenditure. Abu'l-Fadl deducted from the contracts what he regarded as likely to be withheld, and payments for which a respite was granted to the farmers, and in general took account only of actual as opposed to theoretical income; he further made ample provision for extraordinary

expenses. In his memoir therefore he showed a deficit. He stated however therein that he was prepared to devise expedients for dealing with this deficit, and if any remained, he would carry it on from one year to the following according to current practice.¹ They held a conference to discuss their conflicting calculations, and the mediators, among whom was Shirzad, finally decided to do away with the vizierate, and to get their principals to agree to share the secretaryship between them. Afterwards however Shirzad in his private interviews with Bakhtiyar pressed the claims of Abu'l-Fadl, in whose name he offered Bakhtiyar a present of money, assuring him besides that Abu'l-Fadl was a man of enterprise and energy, such as the time required, and further a man of wealth whose possessions were many times those of Abu'l-Faraj; and that he was besides gifted with astuteness, subtlety and readiness to act; whereas Abu'l-Faraj was parsimonious, scrupulous and hesitating, not the kind of man to make things go. He plied Bakhtiyar with talk of this kind, till the latter made up his mind to act on the advice.

Bakhtiyar now appointed Abu'l-Fadl vizier, bestowed upon him the *qaba*, sword and belt, the two latter adorned with gold, mounted him on a horse with a gold saddle, and presented him with a fief bringing in 50,000 dinars in the style of (242) the viziers. He also attached a considerable number of Dailemites to him in the style of the viziers. Abu'l-Faraj paid Abu'l-Fadl a complimentary visit, and expressed his desire to withdraw from service. Abu'l-Fadl disapproved of this, as he wished Abu'l-Faraj to continue as before in charge of the Bureau, that he might have the less time for scrutinizing the vizier and finding fault with him, and further that he himself might see Abu'l-Faraj coming to him morning and evening, and Abu'l-Faraj in consequence sink from the level of an equal to that of a

¹ The idea of a public debt was as yet unknown.

subordinate. Abu'l-Faraj disliked all this, but it was represented to him that if he could not resign himself to this position there would be an end to the relations between him and his master Bakhtiyar, and some-one else would be appointed to the Bureau, while he would be in the position of a dismissed official, and this might lead to something worse, viz., his enemies getting him into their power and being at liberty to deal with him and those dear to him as they pleased. He therefore consented to take the presidency of the Bureau, and was invested therewith afresh, a *durra'ah* being bestowed on him in his character of Secretary.

Among the economies effected by Abu'l-Fadl during his vizierate was the reclaiming of certain fiefs from such persons as Abu'l-Fath brother of 'Imran b. Shahin,¹ Abu 'Abdallah Aisar known as Jabb,² etc. He then set about visiting Ahwaz and demanding accounts of Azadhruyah and his clerks.

During his vizierate it came about that *Habashi*, son of Mu'izz al-daulah, openly revolted against his brother and endeavoured to make himself independent ruler of Basrah.

Account of the cause of Habashi's rebellion, and how Abu'l-fadl got him into his power and secured possession of his money, stores and dependents.

When Mu'izz al-daulah died, *Habashi* was beset by a number of his attendants and of the local troops in Basrah, who suggested that he should make the city his own, putting it into his mind that the bulk of the revenue raised there went to the maintenance of the troops stationed there, while the rest was devoted to his personal expenses; if anything remained over it was not more than might well be regarded as his share in his father's estate, and so be neglected. They then proceeded to

¹ Above, ii. 181.

² Above, ii 218.

assure him that his brother Bakhtiyar would be unable to reach (243) him, should he wish to do so, owing to the strength of the city. He therefore started appropriating the treasures and the conduct of affairs, and tyrannizing over the officials. Having a grudge against the governor of Basrah, Abu Tahir Husain b. Hasan, Habashi intended to arrest him, in order to gratify his spite and deprive him of his authority with the people; the governor, receiving information of this design, fled to the capital. Habashi wrote immediately after his flight to Bakhtiyar, complaining of his conduct, and charging him with stupidity and folly; the governor, he asserted, had not really had any cause for alarm, but merely wanted to bring him (Habashi) into evil repute. He stated in his letter that he had ordered the offices and public moneys to be kept as they had been till the governor returned to administer them as before. He proceeded in this letter to solicit that the city might be committed to him, and that he might be allowed to administer it without interference; that instructions might be given him with regard to the revenue which he should raise, that he should be debited with his private expenditure and the pay of the troops stationed at his court, and if any sum remained, that it should be allocated to some purpose.—Bakhtiyar replied with the assurance that he accepted his statement and promised to act according to his wishes.—Habashi's proceedings now became yet more arbitrary, so that his designs revealed themselves and it was plain that he meant rebellion. Bakhtiyar wrote him a mollifying and conciliatory letter, containing mild remonstrance; also informing him that the writer's vizier Abu'l-Fadl was on his way to Ahwaz, whence he would send him a message, gratifying all his wishes. Bakhtiyar then bade his vizier Abu'l-Fadl start, and instructed him to circumvent Habashi and rescue Basrah from his hands, either by wile and deceit or by open war. Abu'l-Fadl

left Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit the Christian as his deputy in the capital, and departed, taking with him Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas, President of the Bureau, and Abu Sahl Dizuyah, the Marshal; he also led with him an army which he had secretly equipped with arms, defensive and offensive, and munitions. When he had reached Wasit he stayed there a month, investigating its affairs, the needs of the districts, and the appeals of the inhabitants. He then gave out that he was starting for Ahwaz, and wrote to Laila b. Musa Fayadhah, who was there, bidding him make ready for an expedition to Basrah, and proceed to Bayan. He sent forward his *hudaidiyyahs* and ships, giving out that they contained his baggage, whereas they were really loaded with arms; and ordered his followers (244) who sailed in them to pass Ubullah without entering it, and to make for Bayan, giving out that they were carrying their cargoes to Ahwaz by way of *Hisn Mahdi*. So he sent the barges and *zabzabs* downstream in separate flotillas. He also wrote to AHMAD B. MOHAMMED called TAWIL ("The Tall"), governor of *Hisn Mahdi* at the time, bidding him proceed to Bayan and take charge of these munitions, letting him into the plot. He wrote from Wasit to *Habashi*, declaring his readiness to do all that the latter chose or wanted, and claimed credit with him for hastening to Ahwaz, whither he would summon *Habashi's* secretary, whom he would instruct with regard to the revenue of Basrah, which city he would surrender to him (*Habashi*). At the close of his letter he hinted that he would like a gratuity for his services, stating in his circumlocution that he had involved himself in serious debt in connexion with the vizierate, and requesting that a sum be sent him as a subsidy. *Habashi's* mind was set at ease by this language; he gave the vizier a promise, and transmitted to him at once 200,000 dirhems, having no doubt that he had bought Basrah of him therewith. When the money reached

Abu'l-Fadl he sent it off to Bakhtiyar. As though Ahwaz was his destination, he advanced to *Huwaizah* and *Nahr 'Abbas*, but turned off thence to the Basrah Canal. *Habashi* had agents whom he had despatched with pigeons to send him information of the vizier's doings, which they did. *Habashi* was roused to action, and declared war; the Turkish retainers who were stationed in Basrah grew anxious about their allocations, and fled to *Bayan*; finding there a mighty army under the command of *Laila b. Musa* and *Ahmad the Tall*, they attached themselves to it. By this time the sailors had arrived with the *zabzabs*, bringing the defensive and offensive armour and the engines. *Habashi* brought his army out to *Ubullah*, arrayed his retainers, enrolled men from the Arab tribes whom he placed at the mouths of the canals, gave the command of the forces operating on the water to a Turkish chamberlain of his named *BAKTIJUR*, and appointed *SU'LUK B. BATAHIR*, one of the chief commanders in Basrah, (245) commander-in-chief of the Dailemite land-force.

When the vizier Abu'l-Fadl reached 'Askar *Abi Ja'far*, he sent orders to *Laila b. Musa Fayadhah*, *Ahmad the Tall*, and their colleagues, to embark troops and arms on the *zabzabs* and barges, and mount stream towards him, fully equipped, from the Eastern branch of the *Tigris* which is called *Furat*; not crossing to *Ubullah* on their way, and not to fight or challenge the followers of *Habashi* before they had come in touch with himself, and been joined by his private troops and retainers. They were indeed sufficient by themselves with the refugee Turks from Basrah who had joined them. The vizier remained the whole night waiting for them; food could not be procured, and supplies failed his army. He was so seriously embarrassed that had the victory been delayed by a day, he could not have remained, but would have been compelled to retire, with defeat as the result. On the morrow however *Laila b. Musa* and the

others mounted stream fully prepared and equipped ; it had been their intention to obey the order to abstain from attacking the followers of *Habashi* who were on their route, only when they passed *Ubullah* the latter came out in their direction and commenced fighting. *Laila b. Musa* and his colleagues thereupon turned out of their course and engaged them ; he sank some of their *zabzabs*, whereas others deserted to him. *Baktijur*, *Habashi's* general, fled, barely saving his life. *Laila's* party got possession of all the force operating on the water ; they then were encouraged to attack the land force, advanced against the *Dailemites* there, and engaged them for a time ; a detachment then succeeded in disembarking on the bank of *Ubullah*, and got to the rear of the *Dailemites*, who fell into disorder and took to flight. Several of them were killed, some got away and others surrendered. *Ubullah* was won.

Laila now despatched a retainer of his on one of the *zabzabs* to the vizier *Abu'l-Fadl*, to announce the victory ; the vizier asked for ships and *zabzabs*, and crossed to a village above *Ubullah*, where he encamped. Thence he wrote to *Habashi*, advising him to remove to *Ahwaz*. *Habashi* demanded a promise of security with guarantees ; the vizier promised him security for his life, his children and his womenfolk. He made no mention of money and goods. *Habashi* noted (246) this. Correspondence followed, but *Habashi* was not satisfied, and did not leave his place. The vizier *Abu'l-Fadl* then made ready his army and his *zabzabs*, and advanced to *Basrah*. He seized the place called *Sababijah*,¹ and kept on sending a series of Turkish and *Dailemite* champions as messengers, with instructions to remain with *Habashi* and keep him in custody, not returning with a reply till he was surrounded by over ten of them armed. He

¹ The reading is uncertain. According to *Ibn al-Faqih*, 35, 21, the *Sindian* barbarians were thus called, and *Basrah* may have contained a settlement of such persons.

then despatched Abu Sahl Dizuyah the marshal with a considerable detachment of the army, and they, entering *Habashi's* presence, removed him with a mixture of gentleness and harshness. He took with him his women-folk, his children, his lighter goods and some gems which he possessed. The vizier did not grant him an interview, but ordered him to be put in charge of *Ahmad* the Tall, who was to take him to *Hisn Mahdi*. This was done; after remaining there some days in confinement he was removed to *Ahwaz*, where he remained for another period, then to *Ramhurmuz*, where he was placed in honourable confinement. Presently the surveillance was removed, and he was taken to his uncle *Rukn al-daulah*; this is a long story which it would be unprofitable to recount. Received by *Rukn al-daulah* he was presented by the latter with a fief sufficient for himself and his party, and was ordered to go to *Sabur*, an agreeable district of *Fars*, rich in springs, trees and game, where he remained till his death in 369 (began July 29, 979).

The vizier *Abu'l-Fadl* took *Basrah* by storm; robes of honour were sent to him by *Bakhtiyar*, which he donned and wherein he rode. Arches were erected in his honour. A free hand was given him, and he became all-powerful. He fined the followers of *Habashi*, his clerks, retinue and purveyors, made him restore the money and gems which he had carried off, extorted large sums, and got possession of all his stores, including that of his books, containing 15,000 volumes, exclusive of loose volumes and unbound sets of sheets. (247) *Abu'l-Fadl* also found stores of weapons, furniture, fine apparel and instruments, which were large for a man of *Habashi's* position. He had all this conveyed to *Bakhtiyar*, who made his son *Marzuban* governor of *Basrah*. His age was then eight years; as his secretary *Bakhtiyar* appointed *ABU'L-GHANA'IM MUFADDAL* son of *Abu Mohammed Muhallabi*, wife's brother to the vizier *Abu'l-Fadl*.¹

¹ See above, ii. 181.

In this year there was circulated among both nobles and commons a proclamation inviting allegiance to MOHAMMED son of 'ABDALLAH "the man destined to rise" out of the family of the Prophet.¹ It was asserted that he was the personage named in the Tradition, who was to enjoin right and forbid wrong, lead the war against the enemies of the Moslems, and revive those religious usages that had become obsolete. The minds of the common people were attracted to the man, who obtained the oath of allegiance from one person after another. To those who belonged to the Sunnah sect it was stated that he was an 'Abbasid²; to those who were of the Shi'ah he was said to be a descendant of 'Ali. An epistle was written in his name in numerous copies which were thrown into the Mosques and places of public assembly. In this he made the appeal which has been recorded. A copy of it got into the hands of the vizier Abu'l-Faḍl near the commencement of his ministry, and he ordered a sharp look-out to be kept for the party who were entering into this plot, and that all who were found to belong to it should be arrested. He started on his expedition before he got hold of any one of them; but he instructed his deputy Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit to search for them diligently. When Sa'id enquired into the matter, he found a number of the chief clerks and most distinguished people mixed up in the affair, having sworn allegiance to his agents; likewise he found that a great number of Dailemites, Turks and Arabs had sworn allegiance to him, among them Sabuktakin 'Ajami,³ one of the chief captains of Mu'izz al-daulah, a man who had led armies, held high posts, and was a gallant champion, who commanded obedience, and held

¹ See the translator's paper on Mahdis and Mahdism in the Transactions of the British Academy for 1915.

² This identification of the Sunnis with the supporters of the 'Abbasids is interesting.

³ See above, ii. 204-207.

among the Turks the rank of one who was not to be crossed in his likes or dislikes. He was a Shi'ite ; being told that the pretender was a descendant of 'Ali, and prepared to make him Prince of princes, he obeyed the call, and the movement attained serious proportions. (248).

Account of the reason for his collapse, involving the capture of himself, his dependents, his agents, and all who had entered into his allegiance.

This personage, who was MOHAMMED son of MUSTAKFI, had gone off to Egypt, where he had been kindly received by Kafur Ikhshidi, who bestowed on him a handsome allowance, and wrote to a number of his friends, inviting them to recognize him. His cause proceeded as we have narrated, and when the number of those who responded became considerable, though they were not personally acquainted with him, and they were strengthened by the adhesion of Sabuktakin 'Ajami, they wrote to him bidding him appear ; and Sabuktakin wrote to say that he would champion his cause. The pretender proceeded to Hit, not doubting that his success was assured and that matters were going as he wished. Sabuktakin 'Ajami, who was in charge of the defence of the Euphrates route, alleging to the Sultan that he was going to look after the needs of his province, went out to Anbar, met him, dismounted in his honour, and then brought him into the city concealed. He proceeded to send him handsome furniture, precious apparel, and quantities of food and drink. His plan was to start a fire and a riot on the night of the Mu'tadid New Year's Day,¹ which would be occupying people's attention, and make a murderous assault on Bakhtiyar. Many of the army joined the conspiracy. Before the New Year's Day Sabuktakin discovered that the pretender was an 'Abbasid and not a descendant of 'Ali. His sentiments in consequence

¹ Al-Beruni says Mu'tadid's months were the same as the Persian, of which the first was Farwardin Mah, corresponding to March.

changed, and he began to regard the pretender as a rogue. He confronted one of the agents with this discovery, told him that the man was a deceiver and a liar, declined to give him any more aid, and declared himself penitent. Mohammed b. Mustakfi was afraid he might be arrested ; his followers and agents, perceiving this, took alarm, and dispersed, some of them fleeing to the Sawad, whereas others went to a great distance. The Sultan, learning about them, wrote to the provincial governors to be on the alert (249) in quest of them, and set spies on their track. One of them was secured, and he was ordered to be made to confess with the scourge. He revealed the names of a number of persons, who were caught ; the persecution continued till Mohammed son of Mustakfi and his brother were secured. Bakhtiyar had the pretender brought before him, and demanded from him an account of the affair, which he gave after obtaining assurance of his life. Muti' requested that the pretender with his brother might be surrendered to him, but Bakhtiyar declined and protected him. Presently Muti guaranteed them their lives, but when the party were put into his power, he ordered the amputation of Mohammed's nose, and likewise that of his brother. He kept them in custody for a time ; then they escaped, and their traces were lost.¹ Strenuous search was made for all who had entered his allegiance, and such persons were fined and chastised in various ways. This was not indeed attempted with Sabuktakin or any of the ring-leaders ; the former was addressed in mild terms, and in his reply endeavoured to deny complicity. He and the army were excused

In this year Kirman came under the undisputed rule of 'Adud al-daulah, who took possession of it, having stormed the fortress Burdasir, which was the treasury of Abu 'Ali Ibn Alyas, where he had amassed in the

¹ An authority cited in the note to the text states that the pretender got to Herat, where he recited Mutanabbi's verses.

course of years all his stores of money, gems and precious articles.

Account of the reason for this.

When Abu 'Ali Ibn Alyas returned to Kirman after Ibrahim b. Kasak¹ he adopted the rôle of brigand, only left the territory of 'Imad al-daulah unmolested for the reasons mentioned above.² He entered into partnership with the robbers and bandits of the Qufs and Balus,³ and in the course of years acquired (250) from them vast wealth which he deposited in the fortress which we have described. When 'Imad al-daulah died, and A'dud al-daulah grew up, he felt about this fortress more than he revealed. So when ALYASA' B. MOHAMMED B. ALYAS quarrelled with his father, he went to 'A'dud al-daulah and stayed with him till the latter had brought about a reconciliation between him and his father, who, when he returned, promised him the succession to the government and the command of the army.

In this year the Qufs attacked a great caravan, and plundered a vast amount of goods belonging to the merchants. Mohammed b. Alyas went out to demand his share of the spoil, but had a paralytic stroke on the journey. He was brought home, and, as his illness continued, he gathered the eldest of his sons, who were three, Alyasa', Sulaiman and Alyas, and addressed them in a style which he hoped would cause them to be united. He made his excuses to Alyasa' for the ill-feeling which he had displayed and which had led to Alyasa's leaving him, and bestowed on him the succession to the government and the command of the army; after him Alyas was to come. He recommended Sulaiman to return to his country, Sogdia,⁴ and showed him a memorandum

¹ Last mentioned i. 302, as governor of Arrajan.

² The reference is probably to i. 355, but the narrative is not very clear.

³ See above, i. 353.

⁴ See above, i. 353.

containing a list of his buried treasures and deposits there. His intention was to place him at a distance from Alyasa' with whom he was on bad terms. The three professed to accept his commands and to be guided by his advice. Sulaiman started for Sogdia with the portion that had been assigned him, but when he got outside the city he changed his direction, and going to the Qufs demanded of them the share which his father had started to collect. He succeeded in securing it; obtaining a large sum from them he attached a number of them to himself as reinforcement, and then returned to Sirajan, of which he had been governor for his father. When his father heard of his proceedings, he was angry with him for disobeying his orders, and in his wrath ordered Alyasa' to go after him, at the head of a force; the army were accustomed to obeying him. Alyasa' was bidden by his father to compel Sulaiman to depart for Sogdia or else return to his court and be placed under arrest; only to leave him unmolested and not pursue him if he took the road to Sogdia.

Alyasa' proceeded to Sirajan, where Sulaiman entrenched himself. They fought for some days, and when the victory was with Alyasa', Sulaiman packed up his treasures and went out from one of the gates of the city in the direction of (251) Khorasan. In obedience to his father's order Alyasa' left him alone, but punished a number of those who had abetted Sulaiman. He afterwards pardoned them.

Account of the disagreement between Alyasa' and his father, which led to the latter appointing a substitute, and how in the sequel Alyasa' compelled his father to depart to Khorasan.

Among the company of Mohammed b. Alyas there was a man named 'ABDALLAH B. MAHDI, with the sobriquet BASSUYAH. He had great influence with Mohammed b. Alyas and was high in his favour.

Between him and Alyasa' there was confirmed enmity. Fearing death at Alyasa's hands he conspired with ISRA'IL the physician, who also had influence with him, and an engineer who had been in his employ, named MARZUBAN, to set Mohammed b. Alyas against his son Alyasa'. They suggested doubts as to his loyalty ; they stirred up his old grievances ; they advised him to cancel his appointment as commander of the army, and put in his place one of his chamberlains named TURMUSH, in order that the power might not escape from his grasp while he remained alive. Let his retainer be the commander of his army and manage it according to his (Mohammed's) ideas. Mohammed b. Alyas accepted this counsel, and wrote to Alyasa' bidding him return to him, and summoning him to the fortress. When he had got in, there being no one in the fortress besides Mohammed b. Alyas himself, the three persons mentioned, a handful of his most intimate associates, and a number of his wives and slave-girls, Alyasa' was arrested and put in fetters by his father, and the command of the army given to Turmush. The army however were not satisfied with the appointment and would not muster to his order. The mother of Alyasa' now approached the mother of Alyas and spoke to her as follows : *Our master had given the succession to his two sons as was proper. His intellect is now affected and his judgment impaired by this illness. Those three have got him into their power, and have succeeded in doing to my son what they will also do to yours. The sovereignty will then go out of the hands of the Alyas family, and be transferred to them and the person whom they have appointed (meaning Turmush the Chamberlain). It is right then that you should help me to (252) rescue my son, in order that matters may take their original course.* The mother of Alyas accepted the other's advice and promised her aid.

Mohammed b. Alyas frequently became unconscious during his illness ; the two women agreed to muster the

slave-girls, of whom there was a great number and jointly make a murderous assault upon 'Abdallah b. Mahdi. He was fortunate enough to escape and get away; the women proceeded to rescue Alyasa', and worked at his fetters, without however being able to break them. Afraid of losing the chance, his mother made strong ropes of satin garments wherewith he let himself down from the fortress to the ground. There he was seen by a soldier, who broke his fetters, and gave him his horse. Mounting this he went into the midst of the army, who welcomed him and returned to their obedience and service. Turmush the Chamberlain fled, and Alyasa' mustered the army with the intention of bringing them under the fortress, besieging it and getting possession of it. During all this the old man was unconscious, knowing nothing of what was going on. When he woke from his fit and understood the situation, he sent a message to Alyasa', and then from the fortress asked Alyasa' (who was below) to raise the siege, and grant assurance of their lives to him, his wives and those who were with him, on condition that he should surrender to Alyasa' the fortress with all the districts of Kirman, and migrate to Khorasan, there to assist Alyasa' if he should be wanted. His son accepted these terms, letting him take anything he choose. He carried off a hundred loads of money, wearing apparel, gems, and precious goods, and took with him three hundred of his retainers, and such instruments and beasts as he wanted. After dismantling the fortress and burning all the instruments and clothing that remained, he took his departure. Alyasa' made no complaint of his conduct, but let it pass, and faithfully observed the guarantee which he had given him, permitting him to reach his destination. Alyasa' then took possession of the fortress and getting the three persons mentioned above into his power, delivered them to his secretary and the manager of his affairs ABU NASR MOHAMMED B. ISMA'IL

of Bamm, with orders to extort money from them. He extorted a vast sum ; Isra'il the physician perished ; the secretary then wrote a letter to Khorasan on the subject of Bassuyah, censuring him and stirring up feeling against him. Although he had pardoned him, he brought him back to the torture (253) of which he presently perished.

'Adud al-daulah now began to tamper with the retainers of Ibn Alyas, and most of the Dailemites and Turks among them deserted to him. Mohammed b. Alyas was at the time in Khorasan, holding out hopes to its ruler of conquering the Dailemite empire, with the results which we have set forth, the death of Washmagir,¹ etc. 'Adud al-daulah was now free to attack Kirman, and employed agents to tamper with and win over to him any who possessed either courage or counsel. He then proceeded to invade the country. He entered it in Ramadan 357 (began July 30, 968), made himself master of all its provinces, and took the fortress Burdasir, a vast city, consisting of a series of contiguous fortresses. Alyasa' fled to Khorasan, where his arrival coincided with his father's death. The ruler of Khorasan proceeded to confiscate the remainder of his wealth and horses which had escaped with him. When 'Adud al-daulah had achieved his conquest of Kirman, and the fame thereof reached the ruler of Sijistan,² the latter wrote to him, and a series of messages passed between them ; ultimately peace was arranged and the ruler of Sijistan had 'Adud al-daulah's name introduced into the *khutbah*. This ruler was Abu Ahmad Khalaf Ibn Abi Ja'far, known as Ibn Banu. There were sent to 'Adud al-daulah from the court in Baghdad the Caliph's diploma, his robes of honour, the collar and pair of bracelets, and deed of investiture with all the provinces of Kirman. 'Adud al-daulah gave the government of

¹ Above, ii. 233.

² See above, ii. 209.

all these provinces to his eldest son, ABU'L-FAWARIS SHIRZIL, appointing as his deputy KURKIR B. JUSTAN, the chief captain of his army. He then returned to Shiraz.

(254) YEAR 358.¹

In this year *HAMDAN* son of Nasir al-daulah deserted to Bakhtiyar, and came to Baghdad.

Account of the reason for this.

Nasir al-daulah had made *Hamdan* governor of *Rahbah*, with the right to appropriate its revenues. Now Abu (255) *Taghlib*, his brother Abu'l-Barakat, and their sister, named *Jamilah*, were the children of Nasir al-daulah's wife *Fatimah* daughter of *Ahmad* the Kurd; she² was in control of their father's affairs. Abu *Taghlib* got possession of her property and of his father's goods and fortresses, under her direction. The party conspired against the old man and deprived him of everything; he owing to his extreme age and feebleness was unable to resist them. He commenced planning their arrest, and wrote to his son *Hamdan* to solicit his aid and support in his design. They however got hold of the letter and prevented its being despatched. This increased the resentment and discord between them; the three became afraid of Nasir al-daulah, and their fear was shared by his secretary and his chief retainers, who had attached themselves to Abu *Taghlib*. Gathering together one night they arrested him and conveyed him to the citadel. When the news reached *Hamdan*, he was indignant at this treatment of his father, and became the open enemy of the three. He was himself the best rider and the bravest of Nasir al-daulah's sons; on the death of his uncle Saif al-daulah he had advanced from *Rahbah* to *Raqqah*, and taken possession of the latter place, and then had advanced from *Raqqah* to *Nisibin*.

¹ Began Nov. 25, 968.

² Probably *Jamilah* is meant.

He summoned all those members of his family who would obey him, his brothers and their troops, to assist him against Abu Taghlib, imploring them to release Nasir al-daulah and restore him to his rank and state. Abu Taghlib advanced against him, but before an engagement *Hamdan* fled from him, and entrenched himself in Raqqah, and afterwards in Rafiqah. Here he was besieged for a long time by Abu Taghlib; presently they made a hollow peace, and each returned to his place.

Nasir al-daulah lived on for some months, and died in 358. Abu Taghlib and his agents then dealt most foully with the estates and possessions of *Hamdan*. His managers were expelled from them; their mutual respect was (256) torn asunder, and Abu Taghlib sent his brother Abu'l-Barakat with a great army against *Hamdan*. When Abu'l-Barakat approached, the bulk of *Hamdan's* followers deserted to him. *Hamdan* fled out of the town¹ taking with him his women-folk, children, retainers and all who chose to follow him. He arrived at Hit, meaning to solicit Bakhtiyar's protection, and wrote to him requesting leave to enter the capital. Bakhtiyar went out to meet him, accompanied by Sabuktakin the Chamberlain and many of the army, housed him in a fine palace² which he richly furnished, and sent him large quantities of rich apparel, scent, furniture, mules and horses with gold and silver trappings. He also undertook to mediate between him and his brother Abu Taghlib, to whom he despatched ABU AHMAD HUSAIN B. MUSA MUSAWI, Registrar of Abu Talib's descendants, with proposals for a compromise. This he succeeded in bringing about; the parties each swore to observe it, and *Hamdan* departed for Raḥbah, having had transmitted to him by Bakhtiyar a present equal to or greater than the former, with camels and other transport. Bakhtiyar escorted him with his

¹ Rafiqah ?

² An authority cited in the note on the text says it was the residence of Ibn Rizq the Christian clerk,

army for some distance ; presently *Hamdan* came back (257) to demand his protection once more, as we shall narrate.

In this year intelligence arrived that *JAUHAR*, follower of *ABU TAMIM* the 'Alawid, ruler of the Maghrib, had entered and taken complete possession of Egypt, and that the army of *Kafur* and the party of the *Ikhshid* had been cut to pieces.

In this year *Shirzad b. Sarkhab*, Persian secretary, was banished from Baghdad.

Account of the reason for this.

Shirzad, as we have recorded, had got control over *Bakhtiyar*,¹ and tyrannized over him immoderately ; he made *Bakhtiyar* swear that he would execute no plan, and determine on no course except after consulting him and obtaining his approval. He curried favour with the troops, and made a profession of gallantry, whereof people ascribed to him more than he possessed, in order to ingratiate themselves with him. He busied himself with finance and the protection of small proprietors, and was anxious to gain money from improper sources ; he withdrew from no scheme which he had devised, and no one could protect himself from him. He dissuaded *Bakhtiyar* from his largesses to the *Dailemites* and *Turks*, strengthening his determination to be firm and hold out. (258) He discussed with him the launching of a plot against *Sabuktakin*, and is said to have conspired with certain *Dailemites* to assault *Sabuktakin* when he presented himself at the palace, in order to enrich himself with *Sabuktakin's* goods and fortune. He designed to be made commander of the army with the title *Ispahsalar*. *Sabuktakin*, hearing of this, declined to meet *Bakhtiyar* or enter his palace except at long intervals and with caution and preparation.

¹ Above, ii. 237.

Shirzad's conduct vexed the army, since Bakhtiyar had accustomed them to meet no refusal of anything they demanded, necessary or impossible, small or great ; and now Shirzad prevented this complaisance on his part. The clerks too declared war against him owing to their fear of the injuries he might do them, and their impotence against those who sought his protection. He was also constantly cursed by the people in general. The Turks were united in detesting him, and began to ascribe to him any experience that displeased them. When the relations between him and the vizier Abu'l-Fadl became unfriendly, the latter began to take measures against him by way of self-protection ; he conciliated the Turks and treated them with liberality. Certain of the Turks consulted with each other and conspired to assault Shirzad, but presently thought it best to obtain the leave of the Chamberlain Sabuktakin. Some of them visited Sabuktakin with that object. The report reached Bakhtiyar, who bade Shirzad go to Sabuktakin, pacify him, throw himself on his mercy, and implore him to restrain the people. He sent the vizier Abu'l-Fadl with him to assist, as the cloak of dissimulation between the two had not been rent. Visiting Sabuktakin, they found a large body of Turks with him endeavouring to obtain his order to put Shirzad to death. This Sabuktakin would not permit ; but he bade them frighten Shirzad so that he might flee, and not let him remain in the capital. So they desisted from the attempt upon his life which they had planned. His condition resembled that of SALIH B. WASIF at Samarra in the days of the Caliph Muhtadi.¹

Now when Shirzad and the vizier Abu'l-Fadl were introduced to Sabuktakin and appealed to him humbly, he told them the facts of the situation, and how, had it not been for his influence with the Turks, Shirzad would

¹ His fear of the Turks is described by Tabari iii. 1718. They had demanded of Mu'tazz 50,000 dinars, and offered to kill this person, who had made himself obnoxious to them.

have been put to death, and never been allowed to come into his presence. He advised Shirzad to depart at once whithersoever he chose. The latter went away (259) in despair of any restoration of his fortune, and in fear of his life. He found the Turks collected in the palace of Sabuktakin, wavering on the subject of his fate, threatening him and insulting him with coarse language. Hurrying to Bakhtiyar, he informed the latter what had happened; then turning to the vizier he made some scathing remarks, saying: This is all your work and of your designing!—Abu'l-Fadl swore with the divorce sanction that he was innocent of what Shirzad suspected. Shirzad replied with a similar oath that his disclaimer was mendacious.

Bakhtiyar now gave Shirzad a private audience, at which he warned Shirzad against the vizier Abu'l-Fadl, made a solemn promise to and contract with him that he would dismiss Abu'l-Fadl from his vizierate, arrest him, and confiscate his goods with those of his dependents. He further agreed to guard the house, women-folk, children and estates of Shirzad after his departure; the last he would nominally assign to his (Bakhtiyar's) son SALAR to protect them from the covetousness of the Dailemites and the troops until such time as the sentiments of the Turks and of the rest of the army towards him had become friendly, when he should be restored to his former state, and resume his office. Shirzad at once departed to Ahwaz, whence he proceeded to Arrajan, where the Chief *Ustadh* Abu'l Fadl Ibn al-'Amid happened to be at the time. His chamberlain Ruwain was a relation of Shirzad. Ruwain had recently died, and his death had greatly grieved and afflicted Ibn al-'Amid. When Shirzad arrived, Ibn al-'Amid detected a resemblance in him to his dead relative, and imagined him to possess the same qualities. He therefore felt tenderly towards him, treated him with honour and consideration, sent him money and wearing apparel,

wrote emphatic letters to Rukn al-daulah about him, and promised that he would mediate for him. He advised him to go to Rukn al-daulah's court and wait at his gate till he came himself, and mediated. So it came to pass that he went off to Rayy and died there.

It was like the bad character and disloyalty of Bakhtiyar that the day but one after Shirzad's departure he seized his fief and estates, his possessions, slave-girls and houses, ruined his secretary and dependents, unearthed his treasure and deposits, removed his own son Salar to Shirzad's house and handed Shirzad's fief over to him, not as he had originally (260) arranged with Shirzad, but as a possession of his own which he was to enjoy. There is another account according to which Shirzad was banished in 359.¹ Two months after his banishment, Bakhtiyar arrested his vizier Abu'l-Fadl with his clerks and dependents, and confiscated their property. He bestowed the bureaux on ABU QURRAH HUSAIN B. MOHAMMED QUNNA'I.

YEAR 359.

Account of the reason for Abu'l Fadl's arrest.

The vizier Abu'l-Fadl had taken into his service Abu Qurrah, a man from Dair Qunna, who was of rare astuteness, had been reared among the clerks and financial agents of Wasit and been trained with them. He had been attached to AHMAD B. 'ALI QUNNA'I, had acquired technical skill, and been promoted from office to office till he held the government of Wasit direct from the Sultan. He acquired great wealth and a massive fortune. He was extremely bold in his dealings with the Sultan, of whose money he would dispose in a way whereon no-one else ventured, and was besides skilful in finding means of getting his way with the Sultan, and acquainted with modes of earning and bestowing secret

¹ It is remarkable that Miskawaihi could not ascertain the fact, as he appears to have been with Ibn al-'Amid at this time.

profits. He would indeed bestow small bribes on viziers and governors and thereby earn great profits himself. When Abu'l-Fadl was vizier to Bakhtiyar he was compelled under stress of financial straits to have recourse to Abu Qurrah; the vizier would buy of Abu Qurrah the barley crop at an excessive price, and reckon as set-off the crops which he farmed at their price at garnering time;¹ so that a *kurr* often cost the vizier three *kurr*. By this and similar operations in wheat Abu Qurrah had acquired a great fortune, and had obtained unlimited power over his subjects in Wasit, whom he tricked and with whose money he rendered himself powerful. If any of them made an appeal, he obtained no justice, as his case was referred to Abu Qurrah, who would make such a person suffer severely. His subjects therefore were terrorized into expressions of gratitude.

(261) When the vizier Abu'l-Fadl was away in Mausil in Mu'izz al-daulah's time,² he put Abu Qurrah in power as his deputy in Baghdad, and introduced him to Shirzad, the Persian secretary, with the view of strengthening his hands and protecting him from the opposition of Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas. Abu Qurrah made presents to Shirzad, treated him with complaisance, and opened out to him many sources of secret profit and advantage, to prevent him from scrutinizing his own conduct too strictly. The alliance of the two became very close, and indeed Shirzad became so devoted to Abu Qurrah that neither of the rivals (Abu'l-Fadl and Abu'l-Faraj) could retain any hold upon him. They were at that time both secretaries, neither of them holding the title vizier during the lifetime of Mu'izz al-daulah. Abu Qurrah would send in such accounts as he chose, and none of the clerks could make him discharge his obligations in full; he was allowed to retain the bulk of the

¹ The sentence is not clearly expressed, but the nature of the operation is obvious.

² Above, ii. 204-207.

produce of his farm, in addition to the profits which we have mentioned, the produce of his private estates and the fines and gratuities which he exacted. Shirzad used to demand of the vizier Abu'l-Fadl the sums which he had promised in the event of the former securing the vizierate for him, whereas Abu'l-Fadl would claim credit for what reached Shirzad from Abu Qurrah. This man, he said, is my agent, whom I only attached to you to represent me during my absence from Baghdad. The sums which you have received from him may well be counted as a set-off to your services to me.—Shirzad replied that he would regard nothing as a set-off which did not come from Abu'l-Fadl's own personal estate, fief or secret profits.—These disputes went on between them till ultimately they were estranged from each other, and Abu Qurrah too was estranged from Abu'l-Fadl, and attached himself more closely to Shirzad. Abu Qurrah also aspired to some lofty post owing to his belief in his own competence, but also to his established position and his vast wealth. The vizier was compelled to dissimulate with him, to treat him as a friend, and endeavour to get his help against Shirzad, though he had himself been instrumental in bringing the two together. When the banishment of Shirzad had come about, the vizier bethought him of arresting Abu Qurrah, but decided to put this off, and planned to wait till the ripening of his crops ; for he feared lest, if he laid hands on him at once, the supplies of barley (262) for the horses which Abu Qurrah provided would be cut off. But he instructed Bakhtiyar to exact from him when the time arrived 200,000 dinars.

Bakhtiyar had no control over his tongue, and was unable to keep his own secrets even where his life and throne were involved. He blurted out this private communication ; Abu Qurrah heard what had passed, and having previously feared the hostility of Abu'l-Faraj, now began to fear that of the vizier. There was no-one

to whom he could have recourse except Shirzad, and he had been banished ; after some agitation he devised the plan of getting at the Chamberlain Sabuktakin. Through ABU BAKR ISPAHANI, confidential friend of the latter, Abu Qurrah offered him the secret profits which Shirzad b. Sarkhab was in the habit of obtaining through himself. Sabuktakin in consequence rendered him help far greater than that of Shirzad, and Abu Qurrah found himself more securely sheltered than before. It was impossible for the vizier to gain a triumph over Abu Qurrah and still more to lay hands on him. Abu'l-Fadl was now beset by a number of troubles : financial stress, inability to exact what was due, the demand of Bakhtiyar for the repayment of loans which he had advanced to the vizier and which the vizier was unable to return ; the enmity of Sabuktakin, who was afraid of the vizier's plots and intrigues, was jealous of his display, the retainers and chamberlains whom he had collected, and his ostentatious liberality, and was himself conciliating the Turkish captains and rivalling the vizier in bounty towards them ; the hostility of Bukhtakin Azadhruyah and his secretary Sahl b. Bishr, earned by the vizier's visiting them in Ahwaz, demanding of them full payment and inflicting on them a fine ; the long standing hostility of the Chief of the Bureau Abu'l-Faraj and his brother 'Ali b. 'Abbas ; and now Abu Qurrah's turning against him for the reasons which have been stated. The vizier was without a friend (263) or supporter, while this group had conspired against him.

Presently Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas was compelled to seek the friendship of Abu Qurrah in order that they might give each other mutual support against Abu'l-Fadl, not for any real affection. The two agreed to approach Sabuktakin the Chamberlain with a view to communicating with Bakhtiyar and advising him to arrest Abu'l-Fadl. Abu'l-Faraj promised to exact nine million dirhems from him, his deputies, his clerks and

all who were connected with him, on condition that he, Abu'l-Faraj, should be invested with the vizierate and Abu Qurrah with the presidency of the Bureau. Bakhtiyar agreed to this and arrested Abu'l-Fadl, as was recorded above.

Account of the procedure in this matter, and of the reason why Abu'l-Fadl after his reverse was able to secure restoration to the vizierate and to get Abu'l-Faraj into his power.

When Abu'l-Faraj had received the robe of honour which is bestowed on viziers and was given power over Abu'l-Fadl, who was surrendered to him with all his dependents and connexions, he was well supplied with money which he realised from them. He imprisoned Abu'l-Fadl in his palace, treated him with severity, and searched with all his might after his goods and those of his family and women-folk. When the prince (Bakhtiyar) learned of this, he demanded the promised money from Abu'l-Faraj. The latter proceeded to examine Abu'l-Fadl, and it was settled that Abu'l-Fadl should undertake to pay 3,000,000 dirhems, as part of which there should be reckoned what had already been realized out of his private property, the price of his produce, furniture and horses ; he should pay the remainder in full, but he stipulated that he should be given more liberty and that leave should be easily accorded to visitors to him, from whom he might solicit subsidies and loans. Abu'l-Faraj found himself unable to allow him his freedom for fear he might successfully intrigue against him. He put him therefore back into strict confinement, thereby bringing their agreement to an end ; and turning against Abu'l-Fadl's dependents fined them afresh, (264) harassed, tortured and afflicted them. A son-in-law of Abu'l-Fadl, named IBRAHIM B. MOHAMMED DAHAKI, died in his prison, and Abu'l-Faraj was suspected of causing his death by the tortures wherewith

he had tried to exact money from him. Abu Qurrah received his robe of honour indicating investiture with the Bureau after gratifying Bakhtiyar with money in order to obtain it ; he was allowed to retain Wasit of which he became special farmer, while exacting the rents from other farmers. He took the title *Ra'is* (Chief), because Abu'l-Faraj had held it during his presidency of the Bureau. Abu'l-Faraj disapproved of this, and in order to protect the title from usurpation by Abu Qurrah ordered people to address himself as *vizier ra'is*.

Account of the mutual hostility which arose between the vizier and Abu Qurrah, and how the latter contrived to get Abu'l-Faraj dismissed from office and Abu'l Fadl reappointed.

Abu Qurrah began to demand all the honours which Abu'l-Faraj enjoyed before he became vizier, asserting that they were the rights of the President of the Bureau which he ought to claim in full. The relations between him and the vizier Abu'l-Faraj became troubled, and the ill-feeling increased till it approached complete hostility. Abu Qurrah offered a second sum ¹ for this title, in consequence of which it was secured and an order issued that he should be addressed by it. When Mu'izz al-daulah despatched Abu'l-Faraj and Abu'l-Fadl on their expeditions for the reconquest of Oman and of the Marshes, he had granted them the right to have drums beaten at their gates during their journey at the arrival of prayer-times. This became a practice with both, which they maintained and did not abandon when they returned from their campaigns. When Abu Qurrah became President of the Bureau, he regarded this as one of the privileges of the office which might be demanded as a right, and was anxious that drums should be beaten at his door. He asked Bakhtiyar for permission, who accorded it ; Abu'l-Faraj however disapproved and pro-

¹ To Bakhtiyar.

hibited it. Presently Abu Qurrah offered a sum of money for it, and Bakhtiyar issued an order that it should be allowed him. The vizier Abu'l-Faraj and Abu Qurrah proceeded to the utmost length in their rivalry and hostility, whilst (265) their master remained unconcerned. The disputes between the two in such matters as these were incessant, and the dignity and precedence of the vizierate over other offices was not protected, so that it became indistinguishable from them.

The vizier Abu'l-Faraj ordered his secretaries to draw up a statement with reference to Abu Qurrah, comprising all that was due from him upon the accounts which he had handed in during his years of revenue-farming, and bringing to light all the frauds that he had committed against the Sultan and his secret profits old and new. This document was drawn up and dealt with a sum of six million dirhems, each item being referred to its source. The document was put before Bakhtiyar, who was led to believe that it was valid, and that Abu Qurrah was rich enough to pay the amount, which he therefore ordered to be demanded of him. Abu Qurrah sought the protection of Sabuktakin, who granted it. Bakhtiyar was incensed by his contumacy, and so Abu Qurrah's enemies found the means of setting Bakhtiyar against him, by putting it into his mind that Abu Qurrah would incite Sabuktakin to throw off his allegiance and dethrone him. Bakhtiyar sent a sergeant to keep Abu Qurrah under surveillance in Sabuktakin's palace, and afterwards a second to summon him. Sabuktakin did not feel strong enough to resist his master, and openly defy him; moreover a rumour had been circulated that he was protecting Abu Qurrah only on account of a secret profit which he received from him. He therefore refrained from going to all lengths in his defence, and handed him over to Bakhtiyar, though feeling sore and bitter, promising Abu Qurrah that he would speak for him and effect his rescue. When Abu Qurrah was

brought to Bakhtiyar, the latter surrendered him to Abu'l-Faraj, whom he ordered to enforce payment of the money. The vizier did not feel strong enough to defy Sabuktakin in his case, and did not venture upon violence while he could not acquiesce in releasing him. Abu Qurrah was therefore put into honourable confinement, but meanwhile the business which he had been in the habit of supervising, the provision of barley for the horses, and various matters which it had been allotted to him to supply, was at a standstill. Sabuktakin now repented that he had made Abu'l-Faraj vizier and helped him to overthrow Abu'l-Fadl. He recollected the civility and simulation of goodwill wherewith Abu'l-Fadl had treated him, and felt that with all his faults he was more serviceable to him than Abu'l-Faraj. The alienation of Sabuktakin made Abu'l-Faraj low-spirited.

(266) The brother of Abu'l-Faraj, Abu Mohammed 'Ali b. 'Abbas, the Treasurer, had acquired mastery over Bakhtiyar, and led him by leading-strings. He never quitted Bakhtiyar's saloon at times of company and entertainment. He was afraid he might be subjected by Sabuktakin to the same treatment as had befallen Shirzad. The two brothers, Abu'l-Faraj and Abu Mohammed, agreed to pacify Sabuktakin by releasing Abu Qurrah, and settling with him for a small sum which would not affect his estate, arranging further that he should go to Wasit and resume his employment there, resigning the bureau. When Abu Qurrah was released, he supplied the barley and transacted the business which belonged to him, and then proceeded to Wasit after arranging with Sabuktakin that the latter should intrigue to get Abu'l-Fadl reappointed vizier, after being rescued from his prison, and the brothers Abu'l-Faraj and Abu Mohammed arrested.

The vizier Abu'l-Faraj had abolished Abu Qurrah's bureau, and removed the deeds thence, himself monopolizing the correspondence with the ministers of finance.

He had a clerk from Ahwaz, named IBN AL-SUKKAR, who was in easy circumstances and aimed at investiture with this Bureau. He offered to pay Bakhtiyar a sum of money every year in cash out of the audit-fees, assuring him that this bureau served as his control over the viziers, that the present vizier had monopolized everything, and that this would lead to ruin of both income and expenditure, and corruption of root and branch.—News of this reached Abu'l-Faraj, who was annoyed and alarmed; he sent to Bakhtiyar to state that he would not endure the investiture of his clerk with this bureau in defiance of himself. Bakhtiyar replied that there must be a President of the Bureau; but, he said, choose whom you like.—To Abu'l-Faraj it seemed easier, less humiliating and more tolerable to take Abu Qurrah back into his service than to let Ibn al-Sukkar have charge of the office; he was summoned by letter to the metropolis, arrived, received fresh robes of honour and was invested with the Bureau. A series of messages were interchanged between him and Abu'l-Fadl, the latter being a freehanded man who bestowed munificent gifts on the retainers of Abu'l-Faraj in whose charge he was, and who in return did not hinder him from corresponding with whom he chose, and delivered to him the letters of his correspondents. Abu'l-Fadl devised all sorts of schemes, most of which were successful. When Abu Qurrah arrived (267) in Baghdad, he got the opportunity of achieving his purpose and intriguing for him.

The financial difficulties of Abu'l-Faraj grew severe, his affairs were at a standstill and his claims unpaid. He was shut off from the resources of Wasit by Abu Qurrah, and from those of Basrah and Ahwaz by the Turks who monopolized the revenues of these places which had been allocated to them.¹ He could not fulfil

¹ Above, ii. 174.

his engagement with respect to money to be got from Abu'l-Fadl, for he had restricted himself to seizing his manifest wealth, and was afraid to release him, lest he should bestir himself and scheme against himself, and intrigue for the vizierate (Abu'l-Faraj not being aware that Abu'l-Fadl had already been doing this and had indeed achieved his object). Many claims upon him accumulated and his situation in respect of the ill-favour of Bakhtiyar, the hostility of Sabuktakin the Chamberlain to him and his brother, and the conspiracy of the army against him, resembled the situation of Abu'l-Fadl at the time of his arrest.

Account of the scheme which he devised to meet the circumstances and the misadventure which interfered with it.

When Abu'l-Faraj perceived the disorder of his affairs, he feared lest Bakhtiyar might arrest him before he was prepared. Alleging the detention of certain revenues in Ahwaz, he stated that he wished to make a journey thither ; but he was prevented from leaving by Bakhtiyar till he had made provision for the expenses at the capital. For Bakhtiyar was afraid that after his departure demands might be addressed to himself which it might not be possible to meet. Abu'l-Faraj had therefore to appoint his brother as his deputy in the capital so as to guarantee that such claims should be met, communicating to him certain sources which he thought were still running, and giving him as an auxiliary his sister's son, named ABU'L-QASIM 'ALI B. HUSAIN the Surveyor, he being inspector of bureaux and accounts. He then departed for Wasit. Abu Qurrah followed on his traces, after settling the affair of Abu'l-Fadl, and finishing it except that Bakhtiyar still hankered after the promises made by Abu'l-Faraj and the guarantees which his brother had given. When the two reached Wasit, Abu Qurrah blocked Abu'l-Faraj's way and opposed his plans ; having control over the place as farmer of the revenue,

and over all the finance in his capacity of manager of the bureau, as well as by the influence exercised in his favour by Sabuktakin. The vizier Abu'l-Faraj in consequence (268) made but a short stay in Wasit and departed thence with the intention of going to Ahwaz. Now it happened that while he was making arrangements for his journey the death took place of a certain man who had made himself master of the lower regions of Wasit, viz. the districts of Nahr al-Silah and Nahr al-Fadl; his name was AHMAD B. KHAQAN, he had been protected by Mohammed b. 'Imran b. Shahin, taken possession of these regions, and occupied them as a fief from the Sultan on such terms as he chose, as it was impossible to compel him to pay. He had a splendid estate and a vast fortune. Abu'l-Faraj, imagining that he could get at his goods, went off in this direction. He was however anticipated by a son of the deceased named Khaqan, who removed his father's crops and goods and went off into the inaccessible parts of the Marsh. Abu Qurrah saw his chance. He entered into correspondence with Khaqan, supported and encouraged him, assured him that he was on his side and would help him, and then drew up certain documents whereby he claimed as his own in his capacity of revenue-farmer of Wasit a large share of the produce and money left by the deceased, and proceeded to tell the vizier Abu'l-Faraj that the latter had no right to anything that accrued to him out of the property of the deceased until he, Abu Qurrah, had obtained full payment of these arrears, or the amount was deducted from what he as revenue-farmer had to pay. Abu'l-Faraj advanced into a region where he found nothing, and had he found anything its possession would have been disputed by Abu Qurrah. In his endeavour to besiege Khaqan he came to places wherein Khaqan was inaccessibly entrenched, and districts wherein he found no-one to address, not a grain of produce, not a trace of money; so he bethought him of sending a

message to Khaqan wherein he requested him to come to terms. Khaqan declined; Abu'l-Faraj besieged him for many days, but ultimately grew weary, and as his plight and that of his followers was sorry, and their supplies ran short, he was compelled to depart. He consented to take a small sum, but could not get even that in full, and out of that reduced amount only a small share, as Abu Qurrah disputed it with him, and they finally agreed to share it. He then hastily departed to Ahwaz.

Abu Qurrah now wrote to Bakhtiyar to inform him that Abu'l-Faraj had not the means of obtaining a single dirhem; he went away. (he wrote) seeking peace in distance from you, to escape the reverse which he dreads from you. He also wrote (269) to Bukhtakin Azadh-ruyah to warn him against Abu'l-Faraj. Bukhtakin wrote to Bakhtiyar that he had nothing left; the sums allocated to the Turks and their entertainment¹ swallowed up all the dues and a great deal more; that Mohammed b. 'Abbas (Abu'l-Faraj) the vizier was only coming to his province to bring against him by quibbles inadmissible claims, draw up memoirs about him, and lay hands on next year's revenues.—It agreed with these representations that the vizier's brother Abu Mohammed 'Ali the Treasurer, though he paid up part out of the sources which had been indicated in the metropolis, was unable to find the remainder, owing to his own want of power, the number of rumours about his brother and himself, and a rumour that matters had been arranged between Bakhtiyar and Abu'l-Fadl on the basis of the latter's restoration to the vizierate, on his giving a bond to obtain 7,000,000 dirhems from Abu'l-Faraj, Abu Mohammed, and their dependents, and paying the troops as well as defraying state expenditure.

Bakhtiyar wrote to Bukhtakin bidding him arrest Abu'l-Faraj with his company on the day of their arrival

¹ Above, ii. 174.

in Ahwaz, and sent similar orders to Abu Qurrah, with instructions to guard against any of them escaping. Bakhtiyar arrested Abu Mohammed the Treasurer as he was sitting with him drinking, as was his custom as the prince's entertainer. Abu'l-Fadl, who was confined in the palace of Abu'l-Faraj, was released and received a robe of honour as vizier.

(270) In this year the Chief Ustadh Ibn al-'Amid went on an expedition to the Jabal at the head of a vast force to regulate affairs there and to settle the position of *HASANAWAIHI* B. *HUSAIN* the Kurd.

Account of the reason for this.

Hasanawaihi b. *Husain* the Kurd had become powerful and formidable owing to attention having been diverted from him by important victories, and the fact that when war was waged between the Khorasanites and Rukn al-daulah he took the side of the Dailemites with ardour, acted as one of them, and rendered service whereby he merited favours. Only in addition to the fiefs assigned him and the territories whereinto he extended his ownership or which he added to his own, he was apt to invade the frontiers of the Jabal and demand of estate-owners and men of wealth protection-money and other dues which he invented; the people would be compelled to assent, and the Sultan would not hold him strictly to account. As the days passed his importance increased, and the provincial governors left him alone, till a dispute over money arose between him and *SAHLAN* B. *MUSAFIR*, which was contested with such determination that Ibn Musafir made an armed attack on *Hasanawaihi*, who routed him. Ibn Musafir had imagined that *Hasanawaihi* would not openly take up arms against him, and that the war between them would not proceed to the length which it actually reached. It did not however stop at the point which he supposed, and it resulted (271) from their operations that the

Dailemites and the Sultan's followers were collected together in a place which resembled a fortress and were surrounded by the Kurds who prohibited supplies from reaching them, and faced them in detachments. Things grew worse and ultimately *Hasanawaihi* ordered his Kurdish cavalry to carry each on the top of his spear as much brushwood and brambles as he was able, and coming as close as they could to *Sahlan's* camp deposit them there. They carried this order out, not knowing his purpose; when in the course of many days a great quantity had been amassed round the camp he ordered fire to be set to it at many points. It blazed up; it was summer-time; the sun glowed upon them together with the heat of the fire; they could not breathe, and were near perishing. So they sued for peace, and the Kurdish chief dealt mercifully with them, and did not pursue his advantage. *Rukn al-daulah*, hearing of this, could not tolerate the whole affair. So he ordered his vizier *Abu'l-Fadl Mohammed* son of *Husain* the 'Amid (the Chief Ustadh) to attack and annihilate the Kurdish chieftain, bidding him go to all lengths. The Chief Ustadh selected his men, and started with a numerous and well equipped force. *Rukn al-daulah* escorted him some distance, and bestowed robes of honour on the officers. He halted while they passed by, commander after commander and squadron after squadron. He was satisfied with the numbers and the quality, and then, after bidding the vizier farewell, returned to *Rayy*.

The vizier proceeded on his way, accompanied by his son *ABU'L-FATH*, a young man who had acted as his father's deputy at *Rukn al-daulah's* court, understood how to govern an empire and manage an army, and by his astuteness, quickwittedness and rapidity of movement had favourably impressed *Rukn al-daulah*. With all that through inexperience, the lightheadedness of youth and foolhardiness, he would venture on proceedings which his father did not dare. He liked to go about

among the chief Dailemites, let them walk in front of him, and mix with them in the style of one who was trying to gain their affection. He would bestow on them numerous robes of honour, and mount their chieftains on gallant steeds with heavy trappings, meaning thereby that they should recognize his supremacy, and that none of them should refuse (272) to kiss the ground before him or walk in front of him when he rode. All this was disapproved by the Chief Ustadh, and rejected in his own procedure. And he used to warn his son and forbid him to do such things, telling him that if indulgence in the like were permissible he would have anticipated his son in practising it.

Many a time in his private interviews have I heard him explaining to his son the jealousy and greed of the Dailemites, and how no-one had ever got the mastery of them except by discarding parade and bestowing only such gifts as would not puff them up nor excite them to mutual jealousy. He had best not lord it over them; he should adopt the style of quite the middle class among them. The person who entertained them, got up festivities for them and mounted them in a style beyond his means would not thereby prevent them from envying him his fortune, scheming to put an end to it, and watching for an unguarded moment, some time when a man feels most secure, to pounce upon him. The Chief Ustadh talked in this style to his son so often that he imagined he had struck terror into his heart and that his son would desist from the course whereon he had launched. But in fact no sooner had he left his father's chamber than he would resume his procedure. The Chief Ustadh was afraid when he went on this expedition to leave him at his master's court, lest he should persist in these courses, and deceived by Rukn al-daulah's apparent forbearance commit finally something that was irreparable. Ibn al-'Amid therefore made his son share the expedition, and left to represent him at Rukn al-

daulah's court Abu 'Ali Mohammed b. Ahmad, called IBN AL-BAYYI', a man of excellent character and learning, earnest, handsome, winning, whose virtue and attainments could well stand the test.

At a certain place on the road, when he was being carried in a litter, for he could not sit a horse owing to the severity of his gout and other ailments, looking round, he saw no-one in his train. Asking the explanation, he found no chamberlain to tell him nor any one else who was in the habit of accompanying him except me. When he asked me what was the matter, I said: The whole company have gone off hunting with Abu'l-Fath. He said nothing till he had alighted at his camp. He then asked about the persons whom he was in the habit of inviting to his repast; (273) for every day ten officers used to be present at his private table, while a number of other officers were at covers specially laid for them, according to regular alternation which their sergeants maintained. On that day no-one appeared. He made careful inquiry and was told that Abu'l-Fath was entertaining them in the fields. At this he was very angry, as it vexed him that such a proceeding should take place without his leave having been asked. He had also been displeased by the desertedness of his train, when he was on a campaign, and he had no guarantee that this dispersion of the troops from the camp might not continue, and a successful surprise be carried out by the enemy. Summoning his chief chamberlain he bade him refuse admittance to his son Abu'l-Fath, and give orders to the sergeants to prevent the Dailemites from accompanying him or associating with him. He imagined that this amount of disapproval would humiliate his son, and prevent the army following his fancies. His words however on this occasion produced no great effect. The lad resumed his practices, and was followed by the army who shared his partiality for sport, the chase, eating and drinking; he incessantly presented

them with robes of honour and gratuities. The chief Ustadh was deeply grieved, but was unwilling to compromise his own dignity by revealing what he felt, and to carry his disapproval very far when he was engaged on such a campaign, lest he should render his troops disloyal and encourage the enemy to attack. So he dealt gently with his son and swallowed his wrath. This led to his illness becoming worse, and presently he died in Hamadhan. He was in the habit of saying at his private audiences : The family of the 'Amid will be ruined and their traces obliterated only by this lad (meaning his son). During his illness he said repeatedly : What kills me is the chagrin which this lad has made me swallow.

Among the things which I learned of him on this expedition was the answer which I received when I asked him about the probable result of his affair with *Hasanawaihi*, and whether it was possible to annihilate him. Not, he replied, with this haste or on this occasion. Only we shall leave him being as we were with something more ; and he will go back being as he was, only something less. And then as the days pass we shall deal with him.

When he got to Hamadhan his illness became severe, and there he died. God have mercy upon him ! His son *Abu'l-Fath* established himself in his father's place, the army being, as (274) I have stated, favourable to him. He increased their ease and comfort, made them promises and held out hopes, made them his messmates and boon-companions, and bestowed on them numerous robes of honour. He entered into communication with *Hasanawaihi* with promises and threats, urging him to return to his allegiance, and advising him to compromise by paying a sum of money which would cover the cost of the expedition and leave a surplus to go into the Sultan's treasury, in which case he (*Abu'l-Fath*) guaranteed that he would set matters right between him and *Rukn al-*

daulah. This project was distasteful to Sahlan b. Musafir owing to his resentment against *Hasanawaihi* and his desire for vengeance ; he was also averse to the idea of such an army retiring without having dealt a blow of which friend and foe should hear. Abu'l-Fath however took the view that it was wiser and sounder policy to come to an agreement with *Hasanawaihi* and return to his master's gate with his army intact, having been exposed to no danger ; and to arrive at his post (the vizierate) before some one else aspired to it. For his father's deputy, Abu 'Ali Mohammed b. *Ahmad*, had been gaining influence with Rukn al-daulah, who had not previously had experience of his competence and integrity. Negotiations took place between him and *Hasanawaihi*, and it was ultimately settled that the latter should pay 50,000 dinars, some of which might be held back. Abu'l-Fath proceeded to collect the taxes of the district of the Jabal, and got together horses, mules and other presents to the value of 100,000 dinars. Meanwhile he received letters from Rukn al-daulah encouraging him, strengthening his hands and approving all his arrangements, and ordering him to return to the court in Rayy.

The death of the Chief Ustadh took place in Hamadhan on the night of Thursday 6 Safar, 360 (Dec. 9, 970).¹ With him excellence in the fullest sense disappeared. Virtues which had been united in no-one else in Islam passed away.

(275) *Account of various excellencies of Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid and of his career.*

The talents and virtues which this man displayed were of a sort that made him outshine his contemporaries, that the enemy could not resist or the envious fail to acknowledge. No-one rivalled his combination of qualities. He was like the sun which is hidden from no-

¹ A Friday, according to Wüstenfeld.

one, or the sea "about which one may talk without restraint." He is the only person whom I ever saw "whose presence outdid his report."¹ For example: he was the best clerk of his time, and possessed the greatest number of professional attainments, command of the Arabic language with its rarities, familiarity with grammar and prosody, felicity in etymology and metaphor, retention by memory of pre-Islamic and Islamic collections of poems. I was once told the following by the late ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. QASIM: I used, he said, to recite to my father Abu'l-Qasim difficult poems out of the ancient collections, because the Chief Ustadh was in the habit of asking him to recite them when he saw him, and on such occasions the Ustadh would regularly criticize some mistake in the reading or vocalization such as escaped us. This annoyed me and I wanted him to master a poem which the Chief Ustadh would not know or at least be unable to criticize anywhere. I was unable to compass this until I got hold of the Diwan of KUMAIT,² a very copious bard, and selected three (276) of his difficult odes which I fancied the Chief Ustadh had not come across. I helped my father to commit these to memory, and took pains to present myself at the same time. When the eye of the Chief Ustadh lighted on him, he said: Come, Abu'l-Qasim, recite me something that you have learned since my time.—My father commenced his recitation, but as he was proceeding with one of these poems, the Chief Ustadh said to him: Stop, you have omitted a number of verses out of this ode. He then recited them himself; I felt more ashamed than ever before. He then asked my father for some more, and he recited the next ode, and made as before some omissions, which the Ustadh also corrected. My informant concluded: Then I became

¹ The words in inverted commas are references to current proverbs and verses.

² Said to have been born A.H. 60. A collection of his poems was edited by J. Horowitz, Leiden, 1904

conscious that the man was an inexhaustible, unfathomable sea.—This is what I was told by this person who was a learned clerk.

As for what I witnessed myself during the time of my association with him, and I was in attendance on him for seven years day and night, I may say that no poem was ever recited to him but he knew its author's collection by heart, no ancient or modern poem by any one deserving to have his verses committed to memory ever came to him as a novelty, and I have heard him recite whole collections of odes by unknown persons such as I was surprised that he should take the trouble to learn. Indeed I once addressed a question to him on the subject. Ustadh, I said, how can you devote your time to acquiring the verse of this person?—He replied: You seem to suppose that it costs me trouble to learn a thing like this by heart. Why, it impresses itself on my memory if I casually hear it once.—He was speaking the truth, for I used to recite to him verses of my own to the number of thirty or forty, and he would repeat them to me afterwards as a sign of approval. Sometimes he would ask me about them and desire me to recite some of them, and I could not repeat three successive lines straight off without his prompting. Several times he told me that in his young days he used to bet his comrades and the scholars with whom he associated that he would commit to memory a thousand lines in one day; and he was far too earnest and dignified a man to exaggerate. I asked him how he managed it. He replied: I made it a condition that if I were required to learn by heart a thousand verses of poetry which I had not previously heard in one day, it must then be written out (277), and I would then commit to memory twenty or thirty lines at a time, which I would repeat and so have done with them. What, I asked, do you mean by "having done with them"? He replied: I would not require to repeat them again after that. He went on: I used to recite

them once or twice, and then return the paper, to engage upon another, and so get through the whole on one day.

As for his composition it is known from the collections of his letters. Every professional letter-writer knows how high a level he attained. The same is the case with his poetry, both sportive and earnest. It is poetry of the highest order, and the most exalted style. In Qur'anic exegesis, retention in the memory of its difficulties and ambiguities, and acquaintance with the different views of the jurists of the capitals¹ he also reached the highest level. When, abandoning these studies, he took to mechanics and mathematics, there was no-one to approach him in them.² As for Logic, the various branches of philosophy and especially Metaphysics, no contemporary ventured to profess them in his presence unless he came to acquire information or aimed at learning rather than discussing. I myself saw at his court ABU'L-HASAN 'AMIRI, who had journeyed from Khorasan to Baghdad, and was on his way home deeming himself an accomplished philosopher, having commented on the works of Aristotle wherein he had grown old. When he got insight into the attainments of the Chief Ustadh and became conscious of their vastness, of the brilliancy of his acumen, and of the accuracy wherewith he remembered what was written, he bowed down before him, recommenced his studies under him, and regarded himself as only fit to be his disciple. He read many difficult books with the Chief Ustadh who expounded them to him and enabled him to learn their contents.

The Chief Ustadh was sparing of words and disinclined to talk except when questions were asked him, and he found some one capable of understanding him. Then he would become vivacious, and things would be

¹ Usually the Readers rather than the Jurists are thus located. Perhaps the author is thinking of both.

² In a story quoted from the *Takmilah* it is asserted that he first attracted the ruler's attention by an engineering feat.

heard from him which were not to be had of any one else, (278) with eloquent expressions, choice phraseology, and subtle sentiments, with no hesitation or difficulty. I saw at his court a number of persons who endeavoured to win his favour by various accomplishments and forms of knowledge, and none of them could refrain from expressing his admiration for the proficiency of the Chief Ustadh in the very line which he had come to exhibit, and declare plainly that he had never seen his equal, and did not believe that his equal had been created.

He was so courteous, good-natured and simple-minded that when any specialist in any study or science presented himself, he would quietly listen and express approval of all he heard from him after the fashion of one who knew no more of that particular subject than enough to enable him to understand what was being communicated. Only after long association, involving the lapse of months or years, if it chanced that such a person asked a question of the Chief Ustadh, or something was said about the subject in his presence and he was desired to supplement it, did his tide swell, and his genius luxuriate, abashing the person who deemed himself master of the subject or matter. Many a self-conceited individual was put to shame in his presence, but only after he had given them free field and free rein, spared them till they had exhausted their stores, and rewarded them liberally for their performances.

Such then was his proficiency in recognized studies and sciences ; in addition he was sole master of the secrets of certain obscure sciences which no-one professes, such as Mechanics, requiring the most abstruse knowledge of geometry and physics, the science of abnormal motions, the dragging of heavy weights, and of centres of gravity, including the execution of many operations which the ancients found impossible, the fabrication of wonderful engines for the storming of

fortresses, stratagems against strongholds and stratagems in campaigns, the adoption of wonderful weapons, such as arrows which could permeate a vast space, and produce remarkable effects, mirrors which burned a very long way off, unheard-of slight of hand, knowledge of the refinements of the art of modelling and ingenuity in the application of it. I have seen him in the room where he used to receive his intimate friends and associates take up an apple or something of the sort, play with it for a time, and then send it spinning having on it the form of a face scratched with his nail, more delicately than could have been executed by any one else (279) with the appropriate instruments and in a number of days.

When he was present on the battlefield or took part in war, he was a lion for courage, unassailable, unapproachable, whom no champion durst confront, no combatant challenge; steadfast, resourceful, skilful at seizing opportunities, a prudent commander, an astute strategist. His capacity as an administrator, as an organizer of agriculture, and as a fertilizer of revenue is indicated by his epistle to Ibn Hindu, wherein he describes the disorder of the affairs of Fars, the mismanagement of his predecessors there, and the expedients necessary in order to restore it to its condition when it was at its best. From this epistle it is possible to learn the whole duty of a vizier, and how to restore a realm after it has been utterly ruined. The only thing that prevented him from establishing a reign of justice in his dominions and securing the prosperity of the provinces which he administered was the fact that his master, Rukn al-daulah, though superior to the contemporary Dailemite princes, was still on the level of the predatory soldier, who is in a hurry for plunder, and saw no occasion to consider the effects of his conduct or the future of his subjects. By way of gratifying his troops he would

permit them to commit acts from which no-one else could restrain them and which were afterwards irreparable. He was compelled to do this because he was not himself of a royal house, and had not among the Dailemites the authority of an autocrat. He was only their chieftain in virtue of the great liberality which formed a feature of his character, and his toleration of conduct which a prince does not ordinarily endure on the part of those whom he governs. This is a sort of treatment from which an army, when once habituated to it, cannot be weaned but is apt to be exaggerated as time goes on, till it culminates at the point reached by the army of our time, which tyrannizes over the sovereigns, makes demands which the whole revenue of the realm would not satisfy, and develops savagery only to be compared with that of an untameable wild beast.

(280) Besides this, the Chief Ustadh Ibn al-'Amid for all his procedure managed to placate the army, the subjects, and his sovereign in a style, which were it not for the danger of misunderstanding might be designated miraculous. When he was appointed vizier to Rukn al-daulah he had been preceded by persons who besides being incompetent had been confronted by a state of disorder and a domineering army, with the world in their hands, appropriating what they chose, unrestrained by any one, under a commander who only retained his title so long as he assented to their demands, and whom they replaced with another whenever he refused them. Rukn al-daulah and prior to him 'Imad al-daulah, used to lavish fiefs upon them, and make them donations so liberal as to leave no ground for complaint or room for demand. Notwithstanding this they were high-handed and rapacious, and desired the unattainable. The utmost that the vizier or minister could do was to find each day some provision for the prince's daily expendi-

ture, by fining the humble or borrowing from the great, or scheming against some one, whoever he might be, who was suspected of affluence. Often for a day or even two days they were unable to provide barley for the horses. The expenses of the court-attendants, their salaries, even their bare maintenance had often to be reduced or even to be in abeyance for days. In addition to this these ministers got no chance of reflecting on ways and means, owing to the number of the soldiers who were importuning them, I mean of the Dailemites and the Turks, especially such as were making impossible demands. The ministers used to get out of their way, making appointments for nightly gatherings in hidden places, and sometimes going out into the country to hold their meetings on horse-back, with their legs crossed over the horses' necks, while they were devising some plan for meeting the requirements of the following day. If they hit upon a plan, it was a gala day, and they were elated over such a professional masterpiece.

Now when the Chief Ustadh Ibn al-'Amid accepted office as vizier to Prince Rukn al-daulah, there was such a reformation that we have seen him riding from the Sultan's palace to his office and met by no-one but his chief clerks. Then he would be received by his master, and they would have nothing to discuss except such unforeseen emergencies as no prince (281) nor minister can avoid. He introduced order into every department and so systematized the public service that he was able to devote most of the day to learning and the learned. He inaugurated a reign of justice and won such respect for himself in the breasts of the army and the subjects that if he but glanced at one of them in disapproval, his flanks would quiver, his limbs shake, and his joints relax. I myself saw this happen on many occasions, which I could not narrate without prolonging this section in a manner inconsistent with the purpose of the book. Had his master only not declined to bring his

territories under cultivation as I have recorded at the commencement of this volume,¹ for fear of letting a single dirhem depart from his treasury, been satisfied with such revenue as could immediately be realized, and regarded his power as bound up with that of the Kurds, and in consequence neither restrained them from mischief nor given the guardians of the confines a free hand in attacking them ! He was content to be told that a caravan had been waylaid or a flock lifted, and would say : That is because they too—the Kurds—require food. Once he was informed that the Kurds had fallen upon certain mules of his that had been let out to pasture, and had driven them off. This had happened near the town, where the Kurds, if pursued, might have been caught. He asked by way of reply how many mules. He was told six. And how many Kurds ? He was told seven. Seven, he said : they will quarrel ; the mules ought to have been seven, the same number.—If that was his theory of the way to reprove malefactors, and his principles with regard to fostering agriculture and the sources of revenue were such as have been illustrated, what could his vizier or minister do ? Ponder this situation and consider the conduct of a sovereign who has habituated his viziers to these practices and is satisfied with their providing for his requirements from day to day in the style that has been described.

Then there came the reform that has been recorded and things proceeded with that famous regularity which the Chief Ustadh Ibn al-'Amid introduced. What competence he displayed, what skill went in front of him ! However when he got to Fars, he taught 'Adud al-daulah (282) sound methods of administration, the way to maintain a realm, and the art of kingcraft, that craft of crafts. This he communicated to 'Adud al-daulah, in whom he found a retentive learner, an intelli-

¹ The reference is probably to ii. 230.

gent pupil. Indeed 'Adud al-daulah was repeatedly heard to say : *Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid was our master.* During his lifetime 'Adud al-daulah never spoke of him but as the Chief Ustadh ("master"), or sometimes as the Ustadh (simply, without "Chief"). After his death no-one recollects his ever speaking of him except as the Ustadh. He used to attribute to him all his successful plans and schemes, regarding them all as learned from him, derived from his wisdom and knowledge. Some of these may be mentioned by us when we come to the career of 'Adud al-daulah, and his success in preserving his dominions, protecting the boundaries, suppressing foes, his anxiety to increase cultivation, his severity with disturbers of the peace, the way he extinguished the flames of the Kurds and Bedouins, and restored the empire to its former régime, if my span be prolonged. Some reader of this section of my book who did not witness his career, may imagine that I have been gratuitously eulogizing, claiming for him more than the real extent of his attainments and height of his virtues. I swear by Him who bade us utter the truth and forbade us to say anything else, that it is not so.

YEAR 360

In this year Bakhtiyar thought fit (or his advisers thought fit) to arrange matrimonial alliances between the Turkish and Dailemite chieftains in order to put an end to the hostilities which arose between them. He began by a match between his own son Marzuban and the daughter of Bukhtakin called Azadhruyah, freedman of Mu'izz al-daulah. The next was between his son Salar and the daughter of Baktijur, freedman of Mu'izz al-daulah. He did the like in a number of other cases, and made peace between the Dailemites and Turks, compelling the parties to swear to each other, while they both swore to befriend 'Izz al-daulah Bakhtiyar son of Mu'izz al-daulah and Sabuktakin

the Chamberlain; and these two interchanged oaths (283) after there had been estrangement between them. Their open hostility ceased, but their inner sentiments remained.

The Caliph Muti' had a paralytic stroke, in consequence of which his tongue and his right side were disabled, on Saturday 1 Safar (Dec. 4, 970). Presently he improved and came to himself, and lived on in this condition till he handed over the office to the Commander of the Faithful al-Ta'i' lillah.

In this year a chamberlain of Abu Taghlib Ibn Hamdan ('Uddat al-daulah) came to Baghdad and arranged a marriage between one of his daughters and Bakhtiyar, for a wedding-gift of 100,000 dinars. Abu Taghlib's contract for his provinces was renewed for a period of four years at 6,200,000 dirhems a year. Robes of honour were despatched to him.¹

In this year Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain was appointed vizier for the second time, and Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas was arrested.

Account of the reason for this.

We have recorded above how Bakhtiyar wrote to Azadhruyah bidding him arrest Abu'l-Faraj (284) and his followers on the day of their arrival at Ahwaz, how he sent the same instructions to Abu Qurrah, and himself arrested Abu Mohammed the Treasurer (brother of Abu'l-Faraj) in his own saloon, where he was present as entertainer; and how Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. Husain was released from his prison and received a robe of honour as vizier. This took place on Tuesday last of Rajab, 360 (May 30, 971). When installed as vizier his sole concern was to conciliate Sabuktakin, relying on him, and his secretary ABU 'AMR IBN ADDI, and his friend

¹ An authority cited in the note to the text states that the age of the bride was three, and the amount of the tax 1,200,000 dirhems. This agrees with the amount mentioned above, ii. 206.

ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. 'ABDALLAH ISPAHANI. Abu'l-Faḍl further endeavoured to win Sabuktakin's favour by giving support and assistance to Abu Qurrah. He appointed Abu Qurrah's brother *HASAN* B. MOHAMMED QUNNA'I Treasurer to Bakhtiyar in addition to his post as deputy to his brother over the Bureaux, and ABU MOHAMMED IBN *HAFS* chief of a Bureau which dealt with certain territories which Bakhtiyar had appropriated, and which he called Private Property Bureau. Abu'l-Faḍl wrote to Abu Qurrah summoning him from Ahwaz to the capital, and ordering that Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Abbas should be sent under guard to Basrah. Abu Qurrah arrived in Baghdad accompanied by the arrested dependents of Abu'l-Faraj. The vizier Abu'l-Faḍl paid him exaggerated honours, and an alliance and covenant were renewed between the two by order of Bakhtiyar and Sabuktakin. And so there was union between them all.

The vizier Abu'l-Faḍl now turned his attention to his business, viz. the deficit in the budget, and after the closest examination found no other expedient than to suggest to Bakhtiyar to possess himself of 'Imran's wealth, which, he assured Bakhtiyar, would be an easy task. Abu Qurrah happening to arrive at this time, the plan matured. Bakhtiyar started in the van, following the land route on the Western bank. Abu'l-Faḍl with Abu Qurrah went by water, and they all met in Wasit in Shawwal of 360 (began July 28, 971).

In this year IBN BAQIYYAH rose in favour with Bakhtiyar and was promoted till he attained the vizierate, as we hope to record.

(285) *Account of the reason for this.*

This man was of the village called Awana, his father and his grandfather Baqiyyah (after whom he styled himself) having been cultivators. He grew up at the time of the Civil War, when the people of the Rustaq

had seized the Upper Tigris Road. He entered their ranks and affiliated himself to one of the bandits. Ordinarily he managed the custom-houses. It so happened that he became associated with Mu'izz al-daulah's kitchen-master, named MUMLIH, who farmed the revenues of Takrit including the Upper Custom-houses¹ and other sources of revenue. Having entered the service of Mumlih, he followed his fortunes and won his affection; he rose from post to post and was finally put by Mumlih in control of all these operations with unlimited authority. Ibn Baqiyyah possessed some liberality and amiability together with courage and recklessness which he had acquired from the line of life wherein he had grown up. Disaster befell Mumlih in a succession of ailments from which he suffered and the displeasure of Mu'izz al-daulah. Abu Tahir Ibn Baqiyyah aspired at undertaking the farming of these revenues and was supported by a number of clerks owing to the presents which he had been making them. He obtained the contract, only failed to please Mu'izz al-daulah, who would not trust him with the kitchen, over which he appointed some one else. He regularly paid the sum for which he had contracted, and his fortune continued to advance and his munificence to expand till he obtained influence over the vizier Abu'l-Fadl, won his confidence and secured his favour. When Mu'izz al-daulah died, he pleased Bakhtiyar, to whom he offered a secret profit out of the business which he managed. Bakhtiyar accepted (286) this; he was made trustee² and appointed manager of the kitchen. The sum which he offered Bakhtiyar came to 10,000 dirhems a month, and he stipulated that Bakhtiyar must support him against the clerks and officials of the bureaux, preventing

¹ The term in the text is explained by Ibn Rustah, 185, 1. Two vessels were moored to the banks on either side of the river, and cables drawn across to prevent ships passing by night.

² Probably this means of the revenue allocated to the prince's kitchen.

their urging their demands upon him, while his own hands were to be strengthened in exacting payment of the sums allocated to him as trustee. Bakhtiyar fulfilled this condition and Ibn Baqiyyah paid him this secret profit month by month. Then Bakhtiyar began to take pleasure in his company at his private gatherings and entertainments, and adopted towards him the same sporting familiarity which he practised at his parties with his associates. Ibn Baqiyyah received these attentions with good grace and entered into the spirit of his pranks. He proceeded to present Bakhtiyar with horses and mules, falcons, curiosities, men-servants and maid-servants, became a majestic personage, standing high in his master's favour, and began to act as intermediary between the prince and all appellants or seekers of favours. When Abu'l-Fadl was appointed to that second vizierate wherewith we are dealing, Ibn Baqiyyah had acquired complete control over Bakhtiyar, and was as high in favour and rank and in as complete domination as Shirzad had been. The vizier Abu'l-Fadl had need of him to look after his interests when he was not present.

The party then proceeded to Wasit for the campaign against 'Imran. Thither the vizier summoned Abu'l-Faraj who was in custody in Basrah, took his bond for a huge sum which was beyond his means, and despatched him to Baghdad to produce it there. He did the same with his brother Abu Mohammed, and in Baghdad they were both vindictively outraged, not indeed with blows or bodily torture, but with various forms of contumely, humiliation and abuse. They succeeded in making their escape, and concealed themselves with one of the dependents of Sabuktakin. This led to a renewal of the estrangement between Abu'l-Fadl and Sabuktakin, who was suspected of intriguing for a restoration of Abu'l-Faraj to the vizierate. The situation compelled Abu'l-Fadl to demand an inviolable oath from Bakhtiyar

that he would never appoint Abu'l-Faraj vizier, or accept his help in any office whatever unless he came out of concealment within a month after the date of the oath. Bakhtiyar took this oath in the presence of the Commanders, (287) judges, Witnesses and chief courtiers; the form of words contained all that is found in the Oaths of Allegiance. Abu'l-Fadl dictated it to Bakhtiyar word by word. The situation remained unaltered, Abu'l-Faraj continuing in concealment, till Bakhtiyar returned to Baghdad after two years, when Abu'l-Faraj and his brother through Sabuktakin's offices obtained guarantees of security and issued from their concealment. The position of Abu'l-Fadl weakened and declined till ultimately he sustained the reverse wherein he perished. Bakhtiyar kept his oath and appointed to the vizierate Abu Tahir Ibn Baqiyyah, who did not interfere with Abu'l-Faraj, knowing that he could not be made vizier and would not attempt to injure Abu Tahir's position. He banished Abu'l-Faraj's brother Abu Mohammed to Wasit, where he was given an allowance. Presently Abu Mohammed came to Baghdad without his order owing to a rumour that had been circulated in his hearing that Ibn Baqiyyah had been arrested; the latter being angered by this banished him to the Marsh, where for a time he was with 'Imran. Then he returned secretly and concealed himself in Baghdad during the civil wars that were being waged. Presently Ibn Baqiyyah got both him and his brother into his power, made demands on both of them and banished them to Samarra where he caused Abu'l-Faraj to be confined.

Account of the fortunes of Abu Qurrah after he had got to Wasit; the growth of his power and the support which he received from Sabuktakin and his dependents.

When the people of Wasit became accustomed to the presence of Bakhtiyar, owing to his long residence

among them, they appealed to him in secret. He received a deputation who informed him that Abu Qurrah had devastated their country, reduced them to poverty, injured, robbed and fined them, deprived them of their estates, and perpetrated with them crimes which God had forbidden. They proved to Bakhtiyar the vastness of Abu Qurrah's possessions, the quantity of his wealth and the excellence of his lands. Bakhtiyar was amazed thereby, and vexed by his conduct and his seizure of so much property. He took it away and appropriated it himself, dismissed him from the control of Wasit and ordered him to manage its finance merely in the capacity of inspector. Abu Qurrah suspected the vizier Abu'l-Fadl of being at the bottom of this, or at any rate of having abetted it, though his idea was mistaken. He therefore wrote to (288) Sabuktakin the Chamberlain, informing him of what had happened and endeavouring to rouse his anger against Abu'l-Fadl, who, he asserted, had violated the oath and the covenants between them, and reverted to his worst operations and intentions. Abu Qurrah next turned against Abu Tahir Ibn Baqiyyah, addressing him in the most insulting language and menacing him with ruin. He demanded of Ibn Baqiyyah accounts of the revenue and expenditure that passed through his hands. Ibn Baqiyyah adopted a high tone with him, and retaliated; he was supported by Bakhtiyar, so that Abu Qurrah was defeated. Sahl b. Bishr, the Christian secretary of Bukhtakin Azadhruhah, heard from Ahwaz what was happening with Abu Qurrah and the weakening of his position, and there being long-standing hostility between the two, he wrote to Bakhtiyar guaranteeing a large sum if Abu Qurrah were placed in his power. He was supported by Ibn Baqiyyah; so Abu Qurrah was arrested, his property declared forfeit, and his estates and produce seized. He hastily undertook to pay a heavy fine on behalf of himself and his dependents, and offered in addition vast sums that he was

prepared to raise by examining the accounts of the revenue-farmers, and conciliated Ibn Baqiyyah with whom he exchanged promises of mutual support. Bakhtiyar now inclined to Abu Qurrah's offers and ordered a robe of honour to be bestowed upon him. The vizier Abu'l-Fadl made no objection, hoping to remove the suspicions which Sabuktakin had conceived about him.

Account of the reason for Abu Qurrah's reverse after he had re-established himself and had good prospect of escaping ruin.

The robes of honour had been got ready for him to put on, when the astrologers found fault with the time, and advised him to wait till they had selected a day. Just then there arrived a retainer of Sahl b. Bishr on a posthorse with a communication from him and his master Bukhtakin Azadhruyah, requesting that Abu Qurrah might be delivered to the former, with the offer of an additional sum which he guaranteed. This came at a time when the people dreaded Abu Qurrah's return to office after they had been bringing charges against him, and were convinced that he was their enemy bent on their annihilation. They accordingly spoke against him to Ibn Baqiyyah, who ultimately advised Bakhtiyar to deliver him to (289) Sahl b. Bishr, informing him that Abu Qurrah's promise of money was only a device for escaping and once more fortifying himself with Sabuktakin's aid against the prince. Bakhtiyar therefore surrendered Abu Qurrah to the messengers of Sahl b. Bishr; he was conveyed to Ahwaz the same night, and there fined. He perished under the tortures which were vindictively inflicted upon him. His bureau was assigned to Abu Ahmad Ibn Hafis. Presently the vizierate fell to Ibn Baqiyyah, and the hands of Ibn Hafis were weakened and his scope narrowed owing to Ibn Baqiyyah's control of the empire. Nothing but the name of this bureau remained.

In this year *HAMDAN* put to death his brother *ABU'L-BARAKAT*.

Account of the reason for this and the intentional and unintentional coincidence.

We have recorded the visit of *Hamdan* to Baghdad,¹ his return to *Rahbah*, and the reconciliation between him and his brother *Abu Taghlib*. Trouble speedily broke out again, and *Abu Taghlib* sent his brother whose *kunyah* was *Abu'l-Barakat* against him, who expelled *Hamdan* from *Rahbah*. *Hamdan* took the desert route to *Damascus*, and *Rahbah* was occupied by *Abu'l-Barakat*, who after leaving there a detachment of his army under one of his retainers and one of his finance officers took his departure homeward.

When *Hamdan* had got some way into the desert he and his followers began to suffer thirst, and so he could not complete his journey. He took the risk of returning, and reached the gate of *Rahbah* at night. The guards were carelessly sleeping, and some of *Hamdan's* retainers succeeded in entering the town by an obscure breach in the wall which they had (290) discovered. They opened the gate of *Rahbah* for him, he entered the town, and concealing himself behind the wall, blew the trumpet. The people hurried to the gate in struggling units, not knowing of *Hamdan's* entry. He proceeded to strike at them one by one, captured the officers of finance and public security, and finding in their possession certain produce that had come in vessels, plundered it, as he did also to their baggage, engines, arms and horses. After inflicting a fine upon them, he went up the *Euphrates* on the *Syrian* bank to *Qarqisia*. *Abu'l-Barakat*, who was on his way to *Mausil*, hearing of his proceedings, turned back to deal with him and faced him on the *Mesopotamian* side.² They interchanged

¹ Above, ii. 256.

² *Qarqisia* was on the *Mesopotamian* side.

addresses and messages, but could come to no compromise or agreement ; and as Abu'l-Barakat was unable to remain, owing to the difficulty of finding supplies for his troops, he started back in the direction of the Khabur. It happened that two hundred horsemen of the Banu Numair deserted to *Hamdan*, whose force had consisted of three hundred retainers. He was now at the head of five hundred horse, and being a man of daring and energy bethought him of crossing in his brother's trail and raiding his army. He took the risk ; crossed with a party of horse, and advancing overtook his brother at a station called Makisin, where the latter was passing on his way. *Hamdan* alighted at a distance of two parasangs, and proceeding to the attack in the early morning found that he had gone on in front with his baggage and part of his army, and was marching in careless style, never imagining that *Hamdan* would venture to attack him with such disparity of numbers. When Abu'l-Barakat was told that *Hamdan* had come, he turned to meet him with a detachment of his troops, hoping to be gradually joined by the remainder. *Hamdan* sent his Bedouins to raid Abu'l-Barakat's baggage, and while preventing his army from forming into line, charged him directly at the head of his retainers. He found Abu'l-Barakat moving hastily in the front line of his troops, the two clashed together, and recognizing each other interchanged sword-thrusts. Abu'l-Barakat had no defensive armour, and being struck on the head by *Hamdan* fell to the ground, and was taken prisoner while still just living. *Hamdan* let his baggage be pillaged, many of Abu'l-Barakat's followers deserted to him, and he took many prisoners, some of whom he put to death while he spared others. He then returned to Qarqisia (291) to tend his brother's wound, believing that he would escape. He died however after three days. *Hamdan* sent his body in a coffin to Mausil. The hostility between him and Abu Taghlib now became pronounced.

Disputes broke out between the remaining brothers, who were disloyal to each other and were each other's rivals, at variance in their operations. Abu Taghlib was informed that one of them, Mohammed (Abu'l-Fawaris), who was in charge of Nisibin, was in correspondence with *Hamdan* and was arranging to meet and unite with him. Abu Taghlib summoned Abu'l-Fawaris with promises of favour and promotion, which deceived Abu'l-Fawaris who accepted the invitation, only to be arrested and confined in the fortress *Ardumusht*, where he was ill treated and laden with heavy irons, until he was released by 'Adud al-daulah when he became master of the region. I was commissioned to remove the stores in that fortress, being entrusted with everything that was there, and there happened what I shall record at the right place.

The rest of Abu Taghlib's brothers were offended by this treatment of their brother Mohammed, and Abu Taghlib started conciliating them and cajoling them, one by one. They all came over to him after various vicissitudes which they experienced, except Abu *Tahir Ibrahim*; he placed no confidence in Abu Taghlib, and went to *Baghdad* by the *Tigris* route to seek the protection of *Bakhtiyar*. Abu Taghlib advanced to *Qarqisia*, whence he despatched his brother *Abu'l-Qasim Hibat Allah* on a foray with a vast army to *Rahbah*, meaning to surprise his brother (*Hamdan*) and take him captive. *Hamdan* was not indeed aware of the expedition until *Hibat Allah* was within sight, when he took to flight, being followed by his son and a party (292) of his retainers, and was overtaken by *Hibat Allah*, who spared him so that he escaped. He was then attacked by a force of *Qarmatians*, on their way to *Syria* to fight against the master of the *Maghrib*, who wished to strike him down, only he made himself known to them, and, as he was bound to them by a covenant, they refrained, and

offered him any service which he desired. He asked that a party of them might go with him to the 'Anah Road, and they assented; he turned off to Baghdad, where the two brothers established themselves in Dhu'l-Hijjah 360 (began Sep. 25, 971). Bakhtiyar wrote to them to come to him in Wasit, where they joined him in Safar 361 (began Nov. 23, 971). He gave them an honourable reception, ordered numerous presents to be conveyed to them, and sent them back to Baghdad after transmitting to them at the time of their departure numerous presents of apparel, silver, scent, horses, mules and trappings. Later on we shall record what became of them.

Account of a plot devised by the vizier Abu'l-Fadl against Sabuktakin after he had taken offence, which turned against himself.

We have mentioned how Abu'l-Fadl suspected Sabuktakin of sheltering Abu'l-Faraj and his brother and protecting them, and of intriguing to restore Abu'l-Faraj to the vizierate. Sabuktakin on the other hand suspected Abu'l-Fadl of having plotted the death of Abu Qurrah after his long torture. Abu'l-Fadl endeavoured to conciliate Sabuktakin by every possible method and device, but finding it impracticable, resolved to put up with his hostility and started scheming against him. One of his schemes was to advise Bakhtiyar to summon Azadhruyah from Ahwaz, increase his power and rank, and make of him an antagonist to Sabuktakin, so that the Turks might be attracted to him, and drawn away from the other. Bakhtiyar accepted this suggestion; Azadhruyah coming to Wasit was treated with the profoundest respect and exalted as high as possible. (293) A contract was given him for farming the revenues of Wasit in addition to those of Ahwaz. The plan, however of alienating the Turks from Sabuktakin was not realized; they were keen enough to perceive its purpose,

and were concious that it was a scheme to produce dissensions and jealousies between themselves ; and they had made a covenant to support each other and not split into factions. Azadhruyah, being afraid to dissociate himself from them and remain in isolation, became one of them. Thus the plan of the vizier Abu'l-Faḍl turned against him. He was compelled once more to present himself at Sabuktakin's gate, submit to his authority and sue for peace after a series of remonstrances and negotiations. When Bakhtiyar returned to Baghdad he promoted Sabuktakin, ordering him to be addressed as *Ispahsalar*.¹ The hostility was now disguised and insecurely cloaked. When Bakhtiyar and the vizier decided to return from Wasit they sent Ibn Baqiyyah on in front to smooth differences between him and the vizier Abu'l-Faḍl and recover his good opinion. Things proceeded in this style of hypocrisy and secret enmity, the "wound being scarred, yet ulcerous"² till the vizier was dismissed and ruined, his death and annihilation coming shortly after.

In this year perished ABU TAHIR HUSAIN B. HASAN, governor of Basrah, with all his connexions ; their traces were obliterated, their fortunes dissipated ; there remained not on the face of earth a blower upon tinder from among them.

*Account of the reason for the disaster which befell
him and them.*

This person³ possessed courage and competence, but was withal rash and foolhardy. When Bakhtiyar came to Wasit, people talked much about him and the wealth that came into his hands, till suspicion became rife about him. The vizier Abu'l-Faḍl was aware that this was idle, and that it was undesirable to throw Basrah into disorder by dismissing him and appropriating his small

¹ See above, ii. 258.

² Allusion to a line of Mutanabli.

³ See above, ii. 243.

fortune, when the city was well organized and in a sound state. Bakhtiyar however was keen to visit Basrah (294) and had got it into his mind that he would there obtain access to vast wealth, never having gone thither ; so thither he proceeded. He did not find there the opportunities for the chase, to which he was passionately attached, nor could his falcons and hawks practise owing to the quantity of palms and other trees. The governor who has been mentioned humoured him with gifts and curiosities and agreed to pay him a secret profit month by month, and went further even, promising to raise money for him from Basrah by chicanery practised on traders and purveyors ; his intention being self-protection. The vizier Abu'l-Fa \ddot{a} l came to Basrah after disposing his forces on the banks of the Marsh, as the water had risen and was abundant, and he was unable to go in pursuit of 'Imran b. Shahin, having to wait till the water had fallen. Bakhtiyar bade him bestow a robe of honour on the governor Abu Tahir and accept his offer. He was himself dissatisfied with Basrah owing to the lack of hunting which has been mentioned, and returned to Wasit, after instructing the vizier to strengthen the governor's hands, give him freer play, and raise his rank. The vizier was compelled to obey these orders, though they were not of his choice or approval. The governor Abu Tahir therefore freely arrested traders and common people, made by chicanery absurd demands upon them, and extorted vast sums from them imagining that he had bound Bakhtiyar by a covenant whereon he could depend, and that the prince was a person upon whose word and faith reliance could be placed. He began to fancy himself in the position of Abu Qurrah, whence he might rise to the vizierate. The vizier Abu'l-Fa \ddot{a} l had a bad opinion of him, and began to scheme against him and plot his ruin. He wrote to Bakhtiyar that Abu Tahir had been ruining Basrah and alienating the good will of the inhabitants, who, being

Arabs, would not put up with what others might endure. He asserted that their property had now been secured and sound policy necessitated that they should be conciliated by the arrest of this governor, his being replaced by another, and his being fined a sum which would make an addition to the fines that had been inflicted on them. He also suborned agents to set Bakhtiyar against the governor, exaggerate his offences, and rouse the prince's cupidity with tales of his wealth. Finally Bakhtiyar ordered his arrest, and the vizier arrested him, his brother, his connexions, including his wife, family, relations, and dependents without exception. He gave the contract for (295) Basrah to 'ALI B. *HUSAIN*, known as Abu'l-Qasim the Inspector, to whom he delivered the former governor owing to the hostility which he knew to exist between them, taking Abu'l-Qasim's bond for a vast sum which he was to exact from his predecessor and his dependents. Abu'l-Fadl then departed from Basrah to prosecute his campaign against 'Imran b. Shahin. The former governor (Abu Tahir) was a scoundrel, who had numerous enemies and to whom many owed grudges. 'Ali b. *Husain* treated him with severity and delivered him to an exactor whom he had injured, and who inflicted on him such tortures that he was afraid in case of his victim's survival that his victim might bring about his own ruin. So he put him to death, and did the same with his brother, his relations, and his wife. He exterminated the lot and left no trace of them. 'Ali b. *Husain* then turned his attention to his purveyors and associates and persons on whom he could make dishonest claims, and fined them hoping to make up the sum which he had promised. From all sources he could only raise part, and the remainder was left unpaid. The trace of Abu Tahir was obliterated from the earth and no reminder of him remained.

Account of Bakhtiyar's mismanagement of the affair of 'Imran b. Shahin from the time of his leaving Baghdad to that of his return, and of 'Imran's success in attacking and defeating him.

When Bakhtiyar left Baghdad for the campaign against 'Imran he gave out that he was going on a hunting expedition in the Nu'maniyyah district, hoping to deceive 'Imran and keep him from taking precautions and making preparations against him. Monarchs do things like this, only carry out their resolutions and persevere in circumventing the enemy by devices which resemble this commencement; they do not commence with a sound and strategic plan, and follow it up with frivolity, sacrificing it to sport, neglecting preparation, and leaving the army to itself so that their authority is impaired, discipline is relaxed, and the enemy, perceiving the mutinousness of the army, the little attention paid to the war, and the reliance placed on luck in lieu of effort, discovers their embarrassment, perplexity and weak points, and how need compels them to approach him with the view of suing for peace, and lean to pacific measures after being enthusiastic for war. Now Bakhtiyar performed this single act at the commencement, but followed it up with all that has been mentioned; the fact being that he enjoyed the chase which he had intended to be a blind to the enemy, and remained in Nu'maniyyah for a month with the forces which 'Imran was aware were intended for an attack upon him and for no other purpose. He then ordered his vizier Abu'l-Fadl to descend the stream to Jamidah, and the Banks of the Marsh, arranging with him that he should dam the mouths of the canals and the passages of the water into the Marsh, diverting the water elsewhere; and that he should build a dyke sufficiently vast for the Dailemites to march thereon to 'Imran's fortress. This was contrary to what he had originally planned, and bore no

resemblance to the scheme which was to have baffled the enemy and prevented him from suspecting. For a nightly attack or surprise can only be accomplished by speed, by galloping to the goal rather than by slow procedure, far-fetched schemes and lengthy operations.

The constructions of these dams taking time, and battles being fought during the process, they were overtaken by the floods. The water and the current rendered the process of obstruction impossible, and it was found necessary to abandon it and instead of completing new dams to employ men to guard such as had already been erected with troops to prevent the enemy from destroying them ; especially as 'Imran was an adept thereat, having been accustomed in all his wars to leave the enemy liberty to spend his money and weary his men, and then when he perceived the approach of the floods to devise some means to ruin the obstructions which were being built. All he had to do was to effect a slight breach at some point in the dam, and the force of the water would save him further trouble in the matter of demolition and destruction. Often in one hour of the night or the day it would ruin the labour of something like a year. For these dams are made of thatch and mould erected against running water at a time when (297) the current is sluggish and the water at its lowest. When the water comes down in force, and finds its progress stopped, a little help is sufficient to cause the dams to give way and disintegrate, the cause of the water's breaking through being sometimes a rat-hole ; this is enlarged by the water till it can no longer be obstructed. When Bakh-tiyar and his vizier constructed the dams as stated, and the flood came, the utmost they could do was to guard those that had been constructed with troops so that 'Imran might not succeed in demolishing them. 'Imran therefore instead of demolishing the dams adopted the plan of migrating to another of his strongholds in the Marsh ; transferring thither his produce, his boats and

all his goods. So when the water fell and the dry time of the second year arrived, the place where 'Imran had been was found to be empty, and Bakhtiyar had no machinery for pursuit ; he looked for his produce, and finding none of it there, departed in disappointment. The army were weary of waiting under such difficulties, and were unable to endure the plague of vermin, the hot climate, and the lack of their customary supplies. They mutinied against Bakhtiyar, used insulting language to the vizier, and meditated an assault upon the latter. The Dailemites and Turks swore to act together and to make common cause. They declared that they would stay no longer. Bakhtiyar was compelled to try to make terms with 'Imran, on the basis of a demand of money, and indeed 'Imran, who had been at first alarmed by Bakhtiyar, had offered five million dirhems. When Bakhtiyar demanded this sum after the disorder in his army, the prolonged stay, and the failure of his plans, 'Imran declined, and offered only two millions through Sahl b. Bishr, secretary of Azadhruyah, who was on friendly terms with 'Imran. This sum by Sahl's arrangement was to be paid in instalments ; presently 'Imran withdrew and declined to give guarantees for that to which he had agreed, and for which only his oath had been required. The negotiators were compelled to report to Bakhtiyar that 'Imran had sworn when he had not. So Bakhtiyar with his army returned home disappointed and humiliated.

The army became more than ordinarily ill-conducted, undisciplined, and overbearing ; on one occasion they sprang on Sahl b. Bishr for the sake of some money which he was conveying, (298) and which, when they learned of it, aroused their cupidity. They plundered it, and though Bakhtiyar tried hard to recover some of it, he failed to do so. They next assaulted MOHAMMED B. AHMAD JARJARA'I, who managed their affairs, and was the vizier's deputy in command of them, owing to certain

proceedings of his which they resented, and declined to permit him to command them. The vizier pacified them by dismissing him, and seeing the chance of fining him, extorted from him 10,000 dinars, a fine which provoked his animosity and brought him into the number of those who plotted and intrigued for the vizier's ruin.

Prior to this year Kurkir b. Justan¹ had been commissioned by 'Adud al-daulah to lead an expedition against SULAIMAN B. MOHAMMED B. ALYAS.² This Sulaiman had been in Khorasan, and had suggested to its ruler to seize Kirman. The Qufs and Balus obeyed him; the ruler of Khorasan furnished him with an army, and he going to Kirman, seduced these two tribes and other communities to discard their allegiance to the Chief Sultan,³ and make common cause in a revolt. He was engaged by Kurkir between Jirift and Bamm, and the battle that ensued ended with the death of Sulaiman, Bakr and Husain, sons of his brother Alyasa', and a great number of Khorasanite officers and men who had been attached to him. Their heads were sent to Shiraz, whence 'Adud al-daulah despatched them to his father Rukn al-daulah.

The tribe of Manujan and the rest of the Qufs and Balus among whom was Abu Sa'id the Balusi with his children and other chiefs, conspired and swore to be steadfast and strenuous in their resistance. 'Adud al-daulah reinforced Kurkir with 'ABID B. 'ALI, and the two advanced to Jirift at the head of their troops. The engagement took place on Wednesday 10 Safar, 360 (Dec. 13, 970), and ended with the rout of the conspirators and the death of five thousand of (299) their champions and leaders. Two sons of Abu Sa'id the Balusi were killed, and the person known as Abu'l-Fawaris Manujani was captured, together with his nephew Abu'l-Laith, and a number of men of similar

¹ See above, ii. 253.

² See above, ii. 250.

³ *i.e.*, the head of the Buwaihid family.

rank. 'Abid b. 'Ali then proceeded to follow their trail and plunge into their country in order to destroy their property. He dealt them a succession of blows, massacred large numbers, reached Hurmuz, and after taking possession of it made himself master of Tiz and Mukran. After numbers had perished in the war there were in his hands two thousand captives, men, women and children; the people now resorted to supplicating for their lives and offered to surrender their fortresses and mountains, promising to become peaceful, divest themselves of their warlike character, content themselves with such food as is lawful and pure, adopt the style of Islam, saying their prayers, giving alms, fasting in Ramadan, and maintaining the other conditions of Islam. They solemnly bound themselves to this. 'Abid then proceeded against certain other refractory tribes in their neighbourhood, known as the Khurramis and Khashakis, who infested the routes both by land sea, and had attached themselves to Sulaiman b. Mohammed b. Alyas. He defeated them, put many of them to death, executed their chief ABU 'ALI IBN KILAB, who fell into his hands, arrested a number and despatched them to Shiraz. These regions were subjugated and remained quiet for a period.

It was not long however before the Balus, who are the most courageous, wildest and most atheistic of these tribes, longed for their habitual infesting of the roads and shedding of innocent blood. They violated the covenants which they had undertaken, and when they did this 'Adud al-daulah came to the conclusion that their case was desperate and there was no hope of their improving. Holding that he ought not to spare them, he decided to march into Kirman against them himself. Starting in Dhu'l-Qa'dah 360 (began Aug. 26, 971), when he reached Sirajan, he found that the Balus had spread

¹ See above, i. 278.

over the districts and were doing mischief, (300) having appointed as their chieftain 'ALI B. MOHAMMED BARIZI. The people suffered serious vexation from them on all the routes of Kirman, Sijistan and Khorasan. He therefore furnished 'Abid b. 'Ali with a vast army of Dailemites, Jilites, Turks, Arabs, Kurds, *Zutt*, and veterans of Saif al-daulah, and despatched him against them. When they knew of his approach, they fled far away, following narrow paths which they thought the army would not be able to tread in pursuit of them. 'Abid sent his brother with a strong force to take them in the rear, and proceeded himself with the rest of the army by another route to the country to which they usually retreat, the Bariz Mountains, which he stormed, forcing Mohammed b. 'Ali Barizi to surrender them, and capturing his son-in-law Abu Darim. They had sent out certain patrols and scouting-parties, to bring them intelligence, but the Dailemite general was apprised, and arrested them all, so that no-one returned out of the whole number to furnish information. They had been lulled into a sense of security until the army came within sight of the place wherein they imagined themselves to be safe ; finding that there was no outlet, and no means of avoiding a conflict, they stood firm for the whole of Monday—11 Rabi' i, 361 (Jan. 8, 972)¹ from sunrise to sunset ; then the battle terminated, leaving all their fighting men except a few slain, and their womenfolk, children and possessions surrounded. Their chieftain who was called IBN ABI'L-RIJAL BALUSI escaped at the time with a number of the leaders, but they were presently captured, and all put to death. A small number of survivors capitulated and secured a promise of protection. They were removed from those mountains by 'Adud al-daulah, who replaced them with skilled cultivators and peaceful folk belonging to various

¹ Wüstenfeld differs with regard to the day as according to him —11 would be Wednesday, Jan. 10.

racers among his subjects, who covered the whole region with agriculture so that the mountains were freed from the old brigandage.

'Abid b. 'Ali now turned his attention to the tribe known as the Khashakis and certain similar (301) robbers. They dwelt beyond the mountains of the Qufs in the neighbourhood of Tiz, Mukran, and the coast to the frontiers of Oman.¹ They gave serious trouble and annoyance and committed grave crimes against the people. 'Abid despatched his brother with a powerful army of Dailemites, Turks, Arabs, etc., sending stores with him partly by land on the backs of camels, and partly in *shadha'ahs* and other craft by sea from Siraf to the anchorage of Hurmuz, and the Kirman coast. Traversing a number of defiles he reached them when they were unprepared fancying that no-one could get at them. He dealt them a heavy blow, killing, capturing, and exterminating. Of all the types of robber he left none in those regions.

In this year 'Adud al-daulah was offended with Kurkir, arrested him, and relegated him to Siraf, where however he was placed in honourable custody such as left a chance of reconciliation.

YEAR 361.

In this year the honourable Ustadh ABU'L-FATH, son of Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid, succeeded to his father's vizierate. Rukn al-daulah committed to him the administration of his realm, and gave him the command of the army. He thus became vizier and commander-in-chief as his father had been; only his father, as we have previously explained, entered upon these offices thoroughly equipped, and owing to his intellectual ability could avoid friction with both his master and the army, and besides govern the subjects and the realms

¹ On the opposite side of the Gulf,

whereof he was in charge, everywhere contriving such plans as suited the time and situation, never parading the pomp of his office except to the extent necessary for the maintenance of his dignity, nowhere so exceeding it as to provoke envy and rivalry ; abasing himself yet not so as to compromise his authority or degrade the high rank to which he had risen. Throughout his period of office his popularity with all ranks and classes, his authority and the continuity of his policy were growing and becoming more and more stable. (302) His son Abu'l-Fath, though serious, able, an accomplished clerk, vigilant and a judge of men, had the levity of youth, the intoxication of novitiate and the audacity of power. He was anxious to parade his pomp, to take Dailemites and Turks into his service, to gather crowds into the processions wherein he rode, and to provide banquets for his master and all his army, wherein he had to bestow robes of honour, to mount people on horses and ornamental saddles, and to lavish gifts and expenditure in the style of the viziers of Bakhtiyar, who had no knowledge of the results of their conduct, no care for the interests of the realm, and indeed no thought except for the gratification of their desires, the enjoyment of their pleasures, and vexation of their rivals by a display of magnificence, which went beyond their means. Abu'l-Fath was not conscious that the first person to resent this, even if he did not show it, was his master, who would be jealous of his vizier's assumption of equality with himself, and arrogation of powers which belonged to *him* ; of his rivalling his master in mustering retainers and followers and squandering money to which his master supposed himself to have the better claim ; and be alarmed at his popularity with the army, their recognition of his lavish liberality, and their attributing what they received to the vizier rather than to their real master and benefactor.

Abu'l-Fath rode this hobby to death, and it brought upon him much jealousy from various classes, Sovereigns, swordsmen and penmen. His master Rukn al-daulah was old and tired of army administration, anxious for quiet and repose; he therefore committed his affairs to Abu'l-Fath, whom he regarded as a youth with the world before him, who would like the hard work which Rukn al-daulah had endured but of which he had afterwards grown weary; would find pleasure in issuing orders and prohibitions, mixing with the army, riding in the chase, seeing the Dailemite staff and high officers of the army walk before him, and then drinking with them, jesting with them, and bestowing on them robes and mounts.

The first persons to find fault with this procedure were 'Adud al-daulah and Mu'ayyid al-daulah, sons of Rukn al-daulah, and their secretaries. They were followed by the other elders of the realm. They noticed how he rode with a vast cavalcade (303) when he visited the palace or his office, how when he left he was followed by the whole company, and the government house was left empty except for attendants and officials of the servant class. Presently as commander of the army and a favourite with it he was advanced to be commissioned to lead a great force from Rayy to 'Iraq, and unite with 'Adud al-daulah in helping Bakhtiyar in the quarrel which had broken out between him and the rebellious Turks, as we shall presently recount; he set Bakhtiyar's affairs in order, and received the title *The Doubly Competent* from the Caliph Ta'i'. Robes of honour were also bestowed upon him. He agreed with Bakhtiyar on certain measures of which 'Adud al-daulah disapproved and which offended him; and this led to the ruin of Abu'l-Fath. We have only inserted this summary account of his mismanagement of his affairs here, when it is to be recounted in detail in the events of the year 365, in order that people may take

note thereof, and that it may be treated as one of those EXPERIENCES OF THE NATIONS which repeat themselves and of which people should beware. We shall now proceed with the events which took place in the time with which we are dealing, giving an accurate record of the acts of Bakhtiyar and his procedure on his return from Basrah to Wasit, that his story may proceed without being interrupted by extraneous matter.

Account of the reason for the insubordination of the common people to the government, and the risings among them which led to the devastation of Baghdad.

Letters reached the government to the effect that the Byzantines had been raiding Nisibin, had got possession of the place and burned it, killing the men and taking the children captive. A number of people then came to Baghdad from Diyar Rabi'ah and Diyar Bakr, summoning the Moslems to arms in the public mosques and in the streets. They declared that the road lay open to the Byzantines and that there was nothing to prevent their invading the speakers' homes, which were contiguous with 'Iraq. A number of the people of Baghdad joined them, and together they proceeded to the Palace of Muti', and endeavoured to break into it. They tore down some of the windows. The doors were locked against them after they had (304) gained admission to him, and entering his presence employed insolent language to him, telling him that he was incompetent to discharge the duties which God had enjoined upon the *Imams*, and proceeding to excesses which it would be unseemly to mention. Bakhtiyar was at the time in Kufah, ostensibly visiting the martyrrium,¹ but really on a hunting expedition. The leading men of Baghdad² came out to him to remonstrate with him for his neglect

¹ Mashhad 'Ali.

² An authority cited in the note gives their names as Abu Bakr Razi, 'Ali b. 'Isa the grammarian, Abu'l-Qasim Dariki, and Ibn al-Daqqaq.

of the interests of the Moslems and in lieu of studying them devoting his energies to an attack on 'Imran who was one of the people of the Qiblah, while he spared the Byzantines, who were enemies of the faith. They reproached him besides with neglecting all the business of the realm for the sake of the chase and sport. Bakhtiyar promised to return to Wasit, make peace with 'Imran and come back to the frontiers. They expressed themselves satisfied and went home. After his return he wrote to Abu Taghlib, governor of Mausil, informing him that he intended a raid on the Byzantines, and obliging him to get ready sufficient provisions and fodder for himself and his army on their expedition. One of Bakhtiyar's staff was sent to convey this order. Abu Taghlib treated him with distinction, and gave a ready assent, being aware that Bakhtiyar carried out neither threat nor promise, and merely said, but did not act.

Bakhtiyar then despatched Mohammed IBN BAQIY-YAH with a missive to Sabuktakin the Chamberlain, who was in Baghdad, requesting him to be reconciled to the vizier Abu'l-Fadl, bidding him undertake the Sacred War with himself, and ordering him to enlist such persons as desired to take part therein. Sabuktakin gave a hypocritical assent to all this. He proceeded to ride at the head of the army in (305) Baghdad, and call the Moslems to arms. Large numbers of the common people answered the call with all sorts of weapons, swords, spears and bows, in a manner which surprised him. He was not led to train them and attach them to a commander capable of looking after them, but made of them a sort of reserve for himself, so that they became a serious source of trouble, indulging in mutual strife, exhibiting various forms of partisanship, and stirring up riots. They went so far as to kill each other, plunder each other's goods and violate each other's womenfolk. The matter assumed grave proportions, and became worse and worse. The Sultan was unable

to pacify them or extinguish the fire which he had kindled. Ultimately this produced the devastation of Baghdad. We shall explain the situation at the commencement of the year 362.

As we have narrated above, Bakhtiyar made peace with 'Imran, who grudged the peace-money and was not afraid of Bakhtiyar. The latter returned to Baghdad to find it devastated by the constant riots, the insubordination of the populace, the battles that were being fought there, the mutual raids, and the number of chiefs who arose among them ; indeed in every quarter there were a number of bandit chieftains, who guarded their own quarter, extorted money, and made war upon their neighbours. The people were in consequence at enmity with each other, raiding each other day and night, burning each other's houses, each group attacking its brethren and neighbours. The Turks were insolent, demanding impossible sums, and outdoing the populace in bloodshed, robbery and lust. They went so far as to murder a prefect of police named KHAMAR, who was in Bakhtiyar's employ, for a trivial act which some of the inferior Turks resented. He met them (306) riding in his cavalcade ; they set upon him, and forced him to run for safety into the house of Bukhtakin JA'DAWAIHI, an important Turkish leader. The Turks broke in, dragged him out, and slaughtered him like a dog, hacking him to death with swords and clubs. They proceeded to deliver his body to the populace, who dismembered it, one wretch devouring his liver and another his heart ; every member was found in some wretch or other's hand. They then burned what remained. They opened the prisons and released the malefactors, pulling out the doors and pulling down the walls. Bakhtiyar was incompetent to deal with them, and fearing mischief from the Turks, summoned the Dailemites to his palace. They presented themselves in arms, and talking of the murdered man (Khamar) expressed disapproval of the

arrogance of the Turks. The old resentments between these factions were aroused, and the Dailemites planned an attack on the palace of Sabuktakin the Chamberlain and the quarters of the Turks. The latter heard of this, took precautions and made arrangements ; the populace sided with them. So Bakhtiyar quieted the excitement,¹ and overlooked the murder of his officer. He then looked to the Chamberlain Sabuktakin to pacify the populace, with whom his authority was greater, and Sabuktakin appointed to the prefecture of police in Baghdad one of his chamberlains. The riot stopped during his tenure of office ; only he sided with the Sunni party against the Shi'ah, which caused the latter to rise, and the fighting and rioting became as fierce as before. Property was plundered, murder among the populace was an everyday occurrence, till it ceased to incur reproof and to stop it was impossible. The want of respect for authority and the incompetence of the Sultan became manifest.

(307) Bakhtiyar now turned upon his vizier Abu'l-Fadl with a demand for money, bidding him pay the troops and satisfy the various ranks of the army. He himself paid no attention to revenue or expenditure, and merely compelled his vizier to keep things going, without rendering him any assistance or aid, while he himself never refused any one in the army anything that he asked, and never restrained his own hand or his own tongue from anything that would injure his interests and his dignity. He desired that all his time should be spent in the chase, in eating, drinking, hearing music, playing games such as *nard*, making dogs, cocks and partridges fight ; and when business came to a standstill he would arrest his vizier and replace him with another. Things would then presently fall back into as bad confusion and disorganization as ever. So when he had brought his vizier Abu'l-Fadl into this plight, and there was no

¹ Of the Dailemites against the Turks.

prospect of obtaining a single dirhem from him, Bakhtiyar turned in quest of money to reprehensible sources, which it would be unseemly to describe, and which are illicit according to all religions.

Bakhtiyar was induced to demand money of the Caliph Muti', by his fancy that the Caliph had riches at his disposal, asserting that he needed it for expenditure on the Sacred War, and that this was the duty of the Sovereign.

Account of the correspondence which passed between Muti' and Bakhtiyar and the final ruin of Abu'l-Fadl.

The reply of Muti' was as follows: *The Sacred War would be incumbent on me if the world were in my hands, and if I had the management of the money and the troops. As things are, when all I have is a pittance insufficient for my wants, and the world is in your hands and those of the provincial rulers, neither the Sacred War, nor the Pilgrimage, nor any other matter requiring the attention of the Sovereign is a concern of mine. All you can claim from me is the name which is uttered in the Khutbah from your pulpits as a means of pacifying your subjects; and if you want me to renounce that privilege too, I am prepared to do so and leave everything to you.* Addresses and messages were bandied on this matter, and ultimately became (308) somewhat menacing. The Caliph was compelled to undertake to contribute 400,000 dirhems, to obtain which he sold his wearing apparel and some of the materials of his Palace. The story that *the Caliph had been fined* spread in Baghdad among high and low, pilgrims from Khorasan and other visitors from different regions, and provoked many reproaches.

The vizier Abu'l-Fadl depended for the sums which he required for the pay of the troops and the maintenance of the retinue and dependents of the court, which he had to find, upon fines which he inflicted on the subjects and the traders, and extortion by chicanery.

He began with "the protected cults"¹, then proceeded to adherents of the Faith, and appropriated the goods of the Witnesses and leading citizens, of the respectable sort; he also employed a gang of informers and accusers, whom he styled *Agents*, and whom he paid regular stipends. Prayers were offered against him in the Public Mosques, churches and synagogues, meeting places and assembly rooms. The populace indulged more freely than ever in the practices that have been described, of raiding, open pillaging and arson. They went to such excesses that shopping came to an end, industry was stopped, and most of the people, being unable to get at the water of the Tigris, drank from wells, and were in something like a state of siege. The vizier Abu'l-Fadl tried to pacify them, but failed, and ultimately ordered a squadron of the army to ride out against them. These were met and defeated by the rioters, and respect for authority sank lower than ever. Abu'l-Fadl himself rode out to attack the bandits, but though he engaged them could not defeat them.

Among his chamberlains was a man named SAFI, evil-minded and of bad character, and a fanatical Sunni. He set fire to the Karkh district, the Shi'ah quarter, and a trading centre (309). The conflagration became severe, goods perished, and the measures taken by the government proved more disastrous to the citizens than the crimes committed by the miscreants. The treatment administered to the Shi'ah led to a dispute between the vizier Abu'l-Fadl and Abu Ahmad Musawi (*Husain b. Musa*), who was Registrar of Abu Talib's descendants. The latter displayed irritation, and proceeded to the employment of violent language. The vizier in consequence dismissed him from his office, replacing him by ABU MOHAMMED IBN AL-NASIR (*Hasan b. Ahmad the 'Alid*). Abu Ahmad Musawi became one of Abu'l-Fadl's

¹ Jews, Christians and (sometimes) Magians.

open enemies and detractors. The latter was now isolated and friendless. Sabuktakin wanted to avenge on him the death of Abu Qurrah, and also bore a grudge against him for his scheme of summoning Bukhtakin Azadh-ruyah from Ahwaz to Wasit¹ to supersede and be a counterweight to himself; and further for a matter which Sabuktakin regarded as serious and shocking. Sabuktakin had made a favourite of one of his Turkish slaves, but in a moment of anger ordered him to be sold in the market; the vizier had commissioned some one to buy this slave for him at double his price, made a favourite of him, treated him as a paramour, and then bestowed such gifts upon him that he had become grander and wealthier than the retainers of Sabuktakin. This roused the jealousy of Sabuktakin to a high degree, whilst the retainers in Sabuktakin's palace were rendered discontented by the fortune which had befallen this colleague of theirs.

These were the grounds of Sabuktakin's enmity; we have already recorded the hostility of JARJARA'I² towards him, that of Abu Ahmad Musawi the Registrar, and now that of Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah. This last had got complete power over Bakhtiyar. The ground of his hostility to Abu'l-Fadl was that ABU NASR, known as IBN AL-SARRAJ, whose name was Ibrahim b. Yusuf, a scoundrel and notorious delator, had by his foul trade acquired vast wealth, and become possessor of fine estates. These possessions were slightly reduced by Abu'l-Fadl, whose procedure made of the man an enemy bent upon his ruin. He held meetings with Mohammed b. Ahmad Jarjara'i, secretary of Sharmzan,³ whose story has been told with the cause of his enmity (310) to Abu'l-Fadl. The two approached Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah and put him in the way of handsome profits and excel-

¹ Above, ii. 293.

² Above, ii. 298.

³ If this be the person mentioned above, ii. 180, we should render "ex-secretary."

lent advantages. They did not leave him alone till they had changed his sentiments towards Abu'l-Fadl, the vizier, and put it into his head that the vizier was plotting against him, and was quite likely to guarantee a large sum to Bakhtiyar to be extorted from him if he were put into the vizier's power. Presently they went further; they suggested to Ibn Baqiyyah to undertake the vizierate himself and anticipate Abu'l-Fadl by arresting him and so getting rid of him.

Account of the reasons for Ibn Baqiyyah's investiture with the vizierate.

Ibn Baqiyyah was not competent or qualified to carry an inkstand in front of a vizier, nor did he aspire to any such post. Only as deputy controller of the kitchen he had won favour with Bakhtiyar by economies which he effected, and various services of which buffoonery was one. He was a rigorous extortioner, barbarously severe, yet for all that possessed some munificence and liberality, those however of rogues, cutthroats and robbers, not those of generous rulers. When the two suggested to him to make himself vizier, and arrest Abu'l-Fadl before the latter could do the same to him, he was dazed, knowing that he was not qualified for what they suggested.

Account of some sound sense uttered by Ibn Baqiyyah on this occasion.

He replied as follows: I have no professional skill, no proficiency in the employment to which you invite me; whereas I am in high favour with my master, which renders me indispensable to the viziers. If I intrude into what is not my business I am afraid I shall be discredited, and that my position will be weakened and forfeited without my profiting by the vizierate.—The two however urged and encouraged him, and indeed Mohammed b. Ahmad Jarjara'i undertook to act as his

deputy and save him all the trouble. The two then proceeded to Sabuktakin, the Chamberlain, recounted to him the proceedings of the vizier Abu'l-Fadl, and urged him to move for the dismissal and ruin of this vizier. He said to them: I have always had that intention, my hesitation being entirely due to the search for a competent substitute, since (311) Mohammed b. 'Abbas (Abu'l-Faraj) has only recently been dismissed, and failed to give satisfaction or prove himself competent as vizier. Moreover it is in people's recollection that the Prince Bakhtiyar has sworn with the sanctions of the oath of allegiance not to reappoint him.—The two then broached the idea of appointing Ibn Baqiyyah, guaranteeing his competence, capacity and ability, and promising themselves to help and support him in the administration and supervision of affairs.—In this Sabuktakin acquiesced, who thus combined revenge upon Abu'l-Fadl with the pleasure of ruining Bakhtiyar, and risked the prospect of humiliation in bestowing on Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah the full rights of a vizier after the latter would on no account have been reckoned by Sabuktakin among the humblest of his servants or aspired to enter his palace. Sabuktakin swallowed all this and with an appetite owing to the depth of his resentment against Abu'l-Fadl. He therefore sent a message to Bakhtiyar on the subject, who assented to the proposal, as he had now formed a very bad opinion of Abu'l-Fadl.

Abu Sahl Dizuyah the Marshal had been suspected of possessing vast wealth, but had been in an impregnable position owing to a relationship by marriage between him and Shirzad b. Sarkhab. When the latter had been banished his services were required for the pacification of the army, and his fall in consequence was put off. At this time Abu'l-Fadl was thinking of arresting him, and Ibn Baqiyyah was anxious that Abu'l-Fadl should undertake that business, and that afterwards Dizuyah

might be delivered to him (Ibn Baqiyyah) and he might have the exaction of his money. This came about; Abu'l-Fa \ddot{a} l arrested Abu Sahl Dizuyah on a Thursday, and was himself arrested by Ibn Baqiyyah three days later, on a Sunday. The arrest was extended to all the clerks, connexions and dependents of both. This was in the year 362.

In the year 361 peace was made between 'Adud al-daulah and Abu Salih Mansur b. Nuh, ruler of Khorasan. There was also a matrimonial alliance, Mansur marrying 'Adud al-daulah's daughter. 'Abid b. 'Ali was despatched on this mission with ten selected (312) nobles, judges and sheikhs of note. The ruler of Khorasan spent a vast sum on the entertainment of the deputation and transmitted unexampled presents to 'Adud al-daulah. A treaty of agreement between the parties was drawn up and attested by the Witnesses of 'Iraq¹ who were present and the Witnesses of Khorasan.

In the year 362 Muti' bestowed a robe of honour on Abu Ishaq Ibrahim son of Mu'izz al-daulah, called him by his *kunya*, and gave him the title 'UMDAT AL-DAULAH, (Mainstay of the Empire).

In this year (362) an engagement was fought between the Domesticus and Hibat Allah son of Nasir al-daulah, in the neighbourhood of Miyyafariqin. The force of the Domesticus was very numerous, but it so happened that Hibat Allah engaged him in a defile where an army could not deploy. The Domesticus was in the van, not fully prepared. The Byzantines were routed and the Domesticus taken captive. The Moslems got them into their power, God glorified His religion, and there was much slaughter and many captures. The heads and hands were even despatched to Baghdad, and there exposed to view in great numbers. This battle took

¹ We should have expected "of Fars," where 'Adud al-daulah at this time ruled.

place on the last day of *Ramadan* 362 (July 4, 973).¹ The Domesticus was kept by Abu Taghlib in prison till he developed a terrible ulcer, which was lanced, and led to his death, after he had received the most hospitable entertainment, and medical care been lavished on him, as Abu Taghlib imagined that he would be able to get in exchange for him whatever (313) he wanted from the Byzantine Emperor.

In this year a robe of honour was bestowed on Ibn Baqiyyah the day after his arrest of Abu'l-Fadl, Monday 7 Dhu'l-Hijjah, 362 (Sep. 8, 973). Up to that date he used to serve the food to Bakhtiyar, carrying the dishes in his hands, girt with a greasy napkin, and tasting the courses before he offered them, according to the custom of those who held the post which he occupied in the kitchen. When he became vizier he wished to continue to perform these services, only Bakhtiyar would not allow it. People marvelled at his being appointed vizier, as he was a common man, whose eye never fell on any but his superiors, and who regarded himself as everyone's inferior. The appointment added to the instability and decay of Bakhtiyar's power, and was the joke of the lower classes both near and far. When made vizier he appointed as his deputy Mohammed b. Ahmad Jarjara'i, and made him with Abu Nasr Sarraj responsible for the government. He pressed Abu'l-Fadl hard for money till his fine was fixed at 100,000 dinars; when the greater part had been paid in, he was delivered to Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. 'Umar b. Yahya the 'Alid² with orders to remove him to Kufah and imprison him in his (the 'Alid's) house. The 'Alid took charge of him, and

¹ In the Letters of Ibrahim Sabi' (Lebanon, 1898), there is a report of this battle (p. 52 foll.) sent to Rukn al-daulah by Bakhtiyar, who claims credit for having furnished Abu Taghlib with the necessary troops. He gives the number of heads of "great men" sent to Baghdad as 1,000, those of others as innumerable. In the preceding letter sent in the name of the Caliph more details are given, and the date is as above. A brief account of the affair is given by Stephanos of Taron, p. 167.

² See above, ii. 208.

he lived for a time in this house; then he died, and no-one doubted that he had been poisoned.

Prior to this Zinah, daughter of Muhallabi,¹ had died, preceded by her brother Abu'l-Ghana'im, and most of her people had preceded her, so that the whole family became extinct. They were presently followed by all who had taken part in the murder of (314) Abu'l-Fadl, all dying violent deaths, not having survived him long. We hope to record this in its place.

Account of the expedients whereby Ibn Baqiyyah was able to maintain himself for a time.

He made constant demands upon Abu'l-Fadl and his dependents, such as his clerks, chamberlains, retainers, and all who were connected with him, or with Dizuyah the Marshal, until he had confiscated their whole property. For a time he made free with what he thus acquired, and kept things going; for this he claimed credit, and boasted of his good results. He got the Caliph Muti' to call him by his *kunyah*, and bestow on him the title *Al-Nasih* (The Adviser). The Sultan's robes of honour were put upon him by Bakhtiyar's command and leave. He constantly found fault with Abu'l-Fadl and censured him, boasting of his own rigid justice; yet not many days had passed before he himself perpetrated iniquities, injustices and incitements to strife, which made the days of Abu'l-Fadl seem like the "days of the two 'Umars"² as compared with his. This was all due to the improvidence of Bakhtiyar, his neglect of affairs, his devotion to pleasure, and his repugnance to taking any hand in the administration, in consequence whereof respect for authority was lost, the people broke restraint and raided each other, opposing caprices and mutually hostile designs were openly proclaimed, murder became so common that not a day passed without a

¹ And wife of Abu'l-Fadl, above, ii. 181.

² Abu Bakr and 'Umar, proverbial for their justice.

number of victims, whose murderers were unknown, and if they were known could not be caught, financial supplies were cut off, and the distant provinces reduced to ruin by the ruin of the capital. In every village there appeared a local chieftain who assumed control of the place, and these local chieftains quarrelled with one another. The Sultan came away empty-handed, the subjects were ruined, the houses were desolate, food-supplies failed and the army broke up into factions.

Account of a plan tried by the Turks and the chief men of the court and the army which produced tranquillity for a time, but presently the situation became as bad as ever.

Ibn Baqiyyah endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between Bakhtiyâr and Sabuktakin, and the chieftains and leaders endeavoured to mediate. Correspondence was interchanged, and in the presence of the chief clerks and officers of the army each of the two swore a solemn oath (315) that he would live in friendship and concord with the other. When this agreement had been effected Sabuktakin presented himself before Bakhtiyar with a number of Turks, was received, saluted and went home. He did not go again, nor did they meet except on parades and on guard against each other as before. Suspicions and ugly rumours came into existence in reference to their mutual intentions, and their enemies and the delators found the path to mischief-making easy. They trod that path, and their mutual aversion returned.

Account of a powerful reason for their resuming their former hostility.

A Dailemite belonging to the dregs of the army, passing in a state of intoxication through the court of Sabuktakin's palace which abutted on the Tigris when the Chamberlain was asleep, aimed with his spear at one of the posts of the veranda, and stuck it there, merely

in sport. Sabuktakin thought the man had been suborned to transfix him, and ordered him to be caught. This was done and the man was strictly questioned, but the suspicion proved to be groundless. Sabuktakin ordered him to be sent to Bakhtiyar who was to be informed of what the man had done. When he was brought into Bakhtiyar's presence, Bakhtiyar ordered his execution, which was carried out. This caused commotion among the Dailemites, who resented his action which they regarded as an outrage. They mutinied, armed themselves, and occupied the mutineers' place for three days. They were then conciliated, and returned to their quarters, with a bitter feeling in their hearts.

YEAR 363.

In this year Bakhtiyar made an expedition to Mausil, hoping to obtain some of the wealth of those provinces and enrich himself therewith; also from the desire to hunt on the way.

Detailed explanation of these motives.

Before Abu'l-Fadl's dismissal from his latter vizierate he had aroused the cupidity of Bakhtiyar in reference to Mausil, hoping that an expedition thither would divert Bakhtiyar from an attack upon himself, and avert his own ruin; he also hoped to reap a harvest out of Bakhtiyar's takings in those regions, including money which would help him towards supplying barley and provisions. (316) When Ibn Baqiyyah was appointed vizier, he adopted the same line, and urged Bakhtiyar to undertake the expedition. Ibn Baqiyyah was anxious to attack Mausil.

Account of the reason for this.

Letters arrived from Abu Taghlib to Ibn Baqiyyah, the bearer being his secretary and vizier, 'Ali b. 'Amr. The form of address employed was below that ordinarily

employed to viziers previously,¹ owing to the low esteem wherein he was generally held. Abu Taghlib could not bring himself to pay Baqiyyah all his due, and the latter, taking offence, used violent language concerning both 'Ali b. 'Amr and his master Abu Taghlib, and threatened them with an expedition. Abu Taghlib endeavoured to put matters right by giving him his full titles in a fresh letter, but Ibn Baqiyyah did not relinquish his intention. Bakhtiyar was anxious to undertake the expedition to Mausil for the reasons which have been stated; moreover Abu'l-Muzaffar Hamdan and Abu Tahir Ibrahim, sons of Nasir al-daulah, had come to Baghdad,² and Abu Taghlib had hopes of conciliating his brother Ibrahim, but harboured none such with regard to Hamdan, owing to the deeprooted hostility between them. He therefore wrote to Ibrahim, making him offers, with the view of causing a rupture between him and Hamdan. This coincided with a slight on the part of Bakhtiyar, and Ibrahim, observing that those of his brothers who remained with Abu Taghlib were prospering, wrote back *I am coming to thee*, and requested that a few horsemen and Arabs should be sent to escort him. Abu Taghlib despatched them to the neighbourhood of Baghdad on the desert road. Ibrahim got away to them, taking with him his brother DHU'L-QARNAIN, who was a hostage with Mu'izz al-daulah and afterwards with Bakhtiyar, fled from his prison by night and joined his brother. When morning came, Bakhtiyar learned what had happened, but there was no help for it; so he made this the ostensible cause of his expedition to Mausil, whereas the inner cause was what has already been mentioned. Hamdan son of Nasir al-daulah most strongly urged him to undertake the expedition to those regions, being eager (317) to avenge himself on Abu Taghlib. After

¹ Hilal, p. 150 foll., has a disquisition on these modes of address. Others are collected by Qalqashandi, vii. 163.

² Above, ii. 292.

Ibrahim's flight Bakhtiyar bound him by the most solemn oaths to remain with him and be loyal. Thus the plan matured, and Bakhtiyar started accompanied by Sabuktakin the Chamberlain and Ibn Baqiyyah the vizier, in the month Rabi' i, 363 (began Nov. 30, 973).

Account of what happened on this expedition and its result.

It was arranged that Sabuktakin should lead the van on the Eastern side and be followed by Bakhtiyar at the distance of one stage; when they came opposite Takrit, Bakhtiyar was to cross and proceed on the Western side, while Sabuktakin was to continue his progress on the Eastern. This plan was carried out, and Bakhtiyar reached Mausil first, to find that Abu Taghlib had departed with his whole army to Sinjar, having left the place bare of all supplies and removed all the clerks and officials. He then departed from Sinjar in the direction of Baghdad, on the Western side.¹ Sabuktakin delayed at *Hadithah*, professing to be occupied with getting his boats across. The news of Abu Taghlib's march towards Baghdad reached Bakhtiyar, who wrote to Sabuktakin, bidding him cross to the Western side and go in pursuit of Abu Taghlib, and sending him a portion of his army with *Hamdan b. Nasir al-daulah*, a numerous host. He further sent Ibn Baqiyyah back to Baghdad with the barges and *zabzabs*, after he had appointed as his deputy *Mohammed b. Ahmad Jarjara'i*. Abu Taghlib got ahead and reached a village called *Farisiyyah*,² on the river *Dujail*, at the distance of some three parasangs from Baghdad. There he encamped, and proceeded to treat with kindness the inhabitants of the *Sawad* who passed his way, taking nothing from them except for an ample

¹ Of the Tigris. The *Hadithah* mentioned here was on this river at the mouth of the Upper Zab.

² *Yaqut* says, "on the bank of *Nahr 'Isa*, after *Muhawwal*, two parasangs from Baghdad."

price, and displaying rigid justice. His scouts began to enter Baghdad, and many of the common people and rabble went out to meet him manifesting joy at his arrival. Abu Ishaq, son of Mu'izz al-daulah, who represented his brother Bakhtiyar, went out to the Shammasiyyah Gate, and Muti', the mother of Bakhtiyar, and all the women folk and children¹ were transferred to the castle built by Mu'izz al-daulah at the Shammasiyyah Gate, (318) to entrench themselves there. Abu Ishaq made a bridge at this point over the Tigris, and crossed by it with the detachment of the army that remained with him, professedly meaning to fight in defence of the city, but with no real intention of doing so, his object being to hold out till Sabuktakin the Chamberlain arrived. Ibn Baqiyyah arrived first and speedily with his rivercraft, and strengthened Abu Ishaq's hands. Riots broke out on the Western side, where the common people again took up arms and fought, and paid off old scores. The tradesmen went into hiding and business was at a standstill. Respectable people crossed over from the Western to the Eastern side. Sabuktakin took up his quarters at Awana opposite 'Ukbara. Abu Taghlib quitted his position and went back in his direction, taking up his quarters at a village at the distance of about half a parasang. The armies took up the order of battle, and there was some skirmishing between the light cavalry and some parties of Arabs. They then broke off hostilities and were inclined to make peace.

Account of an intrigue that took place in this campaign, being a plot against Bakhtiyar arranged between Sabuktakin and Abu Taghlib, which however Sabuktakin failed to carry out, thus losing his opportunity.

There was a secret agreement between Abu Taghlib and Sabuktakin that they should keep quiet and profess hostility till Sabuktakin was able to arrest the

¹ Of the two royal houses.

Caliph, Bakhtiyar's mother and womenfolk, and Ibn Baqiyyah, when he should openly rebel, and return to Baghdad while Abu Taghlib went back to Mausil to attack Bakhtiyar who had but a small number with him ; Abu Taghlib would then speedily get Bakhtiyar into his power and overthrow his dynasty. Sabuktakin however reflected on the discredit which would accrue to him, and had not the heart to seize his patron's family and the Caliph, dreading the consequences. Ibn Baqiyyah hurried from Baghdad to Sabuktakin and had a meeting with him at which the agents of Abu Taghlib were present, and peace was settled on the former terms with an additional thousand *kurr* of wheat to be paid yearly, and a payment by Abu Taghlib to Bakhtiyar of three thousand (319) *kurr* of wheat as reimbursement of the costs of his expedition. Abu Taghlib returned to Mausil to attack Bakhtiyar who had with him a weak force only. People were convinced that Abu Taghlib would not have ventured to approach Sabuktakin had he not been confident that the latter would not engage him, and that the skirmish which took place between the advance columns of the two armies had been a blind.

Sabuktakin with all his army entered Baghdad, abandoning Bakhtiyar. Ibn Baqiyyah was in consternation thereat, and demanded that Sabuktakin should undertake a fresh expedition and join his master Bakhtiyar. Sabuktakin made difficulties, alleging that his troops would not be willing to return—presently however he reflected on the consequences, and started back though grudgingly. People therefore perceived what he had meant to do, only not done. Had he acted as well as intended there would have been a wonderful opportunity, nor would the plan which we have stated have met with any hindrance.

Sabuktakin, Ibn Baqiyyah and the rest of the army now hurriedly proceeded Northwards. Bakhtiyar, when

he learned of Abu Taghlib's return in his direction, had hastily concentrated his forces, recalling his officers from the districts over which he had spread them ; he was in great trepidation, and deployed his ranks in the place known as Dair A'la¹ outside Mausil. Abu Taghlib approached and took up his position below *Hasba*² in a state of complete preparation ; between the two armies there remained only a distance corresponding with the length of the city of Mausil,³ and neither was able to engage the other, though Abu Taghlib was the superior owing to his numbers and the fact that the inhabitants of Mausil favoured him. The inhabitants now intervened to avoid bloodshed and ratify the peace of which the terms have been stated. Abu Taghlib was arbitrary in his demands and required reductions and abatements ; he also demanded the surrender of his wife, Bakhtiyar's daughter, and that he should have a royal title. Bakhtiyar assented to all his demands in order to avoid an engagement. The subject of *Hamdan* was mentioned and it was proposed⁴ that his estates and possessions with their produce should be released⁵ as well as the fortress of Mardin, which had been specially assigned him. It had been so assigned (320) during his father's lifetime, and he had established his uterine brother with certain of his intimates there. Abu Taghlib had intrigued with this brother, and induced him by an offer of money, to be paid immediately, to betray his brother and surrender the fortress. Abu Taghlib rejected Bakhtiyar's proposal in its entirety, and would not admit any of it into the conditions of peace. *Hamdan* was absent at the time, being with Sabuktakin the Chamberlain in Baghdad. Bakhtiyar was too weak to insist, his whole object being to get safely away, and induce Abu Taghlib to leave his road open. At last he moved to a place called The Buck's Horn five parasangs'

¹ Above, ii. 206.

² Mentioned by Arib, 170, 13.

³ Apparently this means that the city lay between the two hosts.

⁴ By Bakhtiyar.

⁵ See above, ii. 255.

distance from his camp in the latitude of Mausil,¹ after the parties had sworn to each other an oath administered by Abu Ahmad Musawi² and a number of intermediaries. Bakhtiyar then went South to *Hadithah* being pursued by the people of Mausil with curses and imprecations; they also pursued and assaulted his associates. The reason for this was that they had been oppressed and robbed by Mohammed b. Ahmad Jarjara'i, Ibn Baqiyyah's deputy. The departure of Bakhtiyar was that of a clearly defeated commander. When he moved from his place in the southward direction, Abu Taghlib entered Mausil, where he seized a number of his followers and other inhabitants of Mausil who had sided with Bakhtiyar and put out their eyes. Finding a man of the 'Uqail called IBN AL-'AJJAJ, who, after deserting from his army to Bakhtiyar, had not left the town in reliance on the conclusion of peace, he beheaded him.

When Sabuktakin, Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah, Hamdan and the army effected their junction with Bakhtiyar, Hamdan was vexed at his exclusion from the terms of peace, while Ibn Baqiyyah was ashamed of the situation wherein Bakhtiyar had come away. They therefore agreed to make the execution of this 'Uqaili, the blinding of the officials, and the assault on Bakhtiyar's retinue and followers an excuse for going back, and a plea for the contention that it was Abu Taghlib who had violated the treaty. The party therefore with their whole army returned to Mausil. Abu Taghlib fled to a district called Tell A'far,³ whence he despatched his secretary 'Ali b. 'Amr b. Maimun as envoy to Bakhtiyar to remonstrate with him (321) for his violation of the treaty and to charge him with treachery. He was arrested, imprisoned and contumeliously handled by Ibn Baqiyyah,⁴ who alleged what has

¹ Or perhaps within the territory of Mausil. ² See above, ii. 309.

³ In the qaza of Sinjar, to the W. (Cuinet ii. 880).

⁴ Who had a personal grudge against him, above ii. 316.

been stated. The envoy denied that the execution and blindings had been ordered by Abu Taghlib, and threw the blame on some of his retainers. After various discussions it was agreed that the peace should be ratified; the produce was assessed in silver and there was deducted from the amount all that had been exacted by Bakhtiyar from Mausil and its dependencies; the rest was divided into instalments, at different dates. It was further stipulated that the estates of *Hamdan* should be released, but these were not to include the fortress Mardin, or what had been taken thence or the produce which had previously been taken from his estates. It was also stipulated that those who had killed the 'Uqaili and blinded the officials should be surrendered, for Bakhtiyar to execute his pleasure upon them; and they were sent by Abu Taghlib, who was confident that Bakhtiyar would do them no harm, since every one concerned was aware that they had acted under orders. And in fact Bakhtiyar pardoned them. It was further agreed that Abu Taghlib should receive a title, and that his wife should be brought to him. Fresh oaths and promises were made on both sides. Bakhtiyar then departed, but loitered on his way to hunt. He arrived in Baghdad on 10 Rajab of this year (April 6, 974). Abu Taghlib's secretary also arrived and Bakhtiyar fulfilled his promises to him. He asked Muti' to bestow a title on Abu Taghlib, and 'UDDAT AL-DAULAH (Munition of the Empire) was bestowed.¹ Royal robes of honour were sent out to him as also was his wife; and those things were done speedily in order that the money might be realized.

In this year Mohammed b. Ahmad Jarjara'i was ruined and died during the exaction of his fine.

¹ The letter on the subject was written by Ibrahim Sabi', and is to be found in the published collection of his letters, p. 174. The ground is there said to be his capture of the Domesticus. Among the presents sent him were a horse with trappings, and a collar and bracelet of pure gold studded with gems.

Account of the reason for this.

Ibn Baqiyyah spared no-one whom he suspected or about whom he had any presentiment; he would immediately put such a person to death without hesitation or deliberation. He had ruined many a competent clerk on mere suspicion or because such a person was qualified for the post which he himself held. When he became vizier, the governor of Basrah was 'Ali b. Husain Shirazi, called Abu'l-Qasim the Inspector.¹ Ibn Baqiyyah was his enemy, as he believed him to be competent. He wished therefore to arrest him, confiscate his goods, and put him to death. (322) The matter got delayed till his return from Mausil, when he decided to despatch Mohammed b. Ahmad Jarjara'i on this errand, wishing to get him away from the capital, and because he had risen in Bakhtiyar's favour, owing to his superiority to Ibn Baqiyyah as a clerk, and to his having contracted an alliance with Bakhtiyar's Stewardess TUHFAH, who protected him and took his part. Besides this he could speak Persian, whereas Ibn Baqiyyah was quite ignorant of that language. In virtue of these advantages he assumed a high tone with Ibn Baqiyyah, and occasionally neglected his orders. The latter was further informed that he had been assuring his prospects with Bakhtiyar during the days when he was the latter's sole minister at Mausil. When these matters accumulated, Ibn Baqiyyah desired to remove Jarjara'i from the capital, and send him to arrest 'Ali b. Husain, and replace him in his duties. When he approached Jarjara'i on this subject, the latter displayed reluctance, perceived that Ibn Baqiyyah's sentiments towards him had changed, and tried hard to be excused. The vizier would take no refusal; so he departed for the South, but there was now a coolness between the two. Had Jarjara'i put up with being governor of Basrah, Ibn Baqiyyah

¹ See above, ii. 295.

would not have resorted to the measures which he presently adopted with him ; only perceiving that he stuck to the metropolis and the retention of his functions there rather than take any other employment, Ibn Baqiyyah's suspicion was aroused and his doubts concerning him increased.

Ibn Baqiyyah had sent a letter already to a friend of his who acted as his deputy in Basrah, named 'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. MOHAMMED KURA'I, one of the low wretches who had risen in consequence of Ibn Baqiyyah's advancement and through his means, informing him of his intentions with regard to 'Ali b. *Husain*, and ordering him to arrest the governor. Jarjara'i proceeded to Basrah with the intention of fining him, and appointing in his stead some one who would undertake to exact the fine or another governor. He meant then to return. When he had taken up his quarters in Basrah, he came to an arrangement with 'Ali b. *Husain* whereby the latter undertook to pay a sum in addition to what he had contracted originally to pay for Basrah as farmer, and proceeded to renew his contract and restore his governorship to him, without having obtained Ibn Baqiyyah's permission. He merely wrote to say that in his opinion policy demanded this, and that he was about to return to the capital. Ibn Baqiyyah was incensed at his conduct, regarding it as an act of open defiance, and indicating a determination to remain at the capital ; he wrote to 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Mohammed Kura'i, bidding him arrest both Jarjara'i and 'Ali b. *Husain*. This order was carried out ; (323) 'Ali b. *Husain* contrived to compromise and was restored to his governorship after a series of negotiations. Jarjara'i's bond was taken for a heavy amount, a small part of which was realized in Basrah ; he however stipulated that he should be conveyed to Baghdad, in order to produce the money, since his home and his fortune were there ; his real purpose being to interview the Stewardess who had

been supporting him. Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah anticipated him with her, purchasing him of her for 50,000 dirhems. For this sum she abandoned him, and gave Ibn Baqiyyah a free hand. He wrote ordering him to be brought, and instructed his agent in Wasit, MOHAMMED B. AHMAD (Abu Ghalib Sarifini), to take possession of his person, and, when he was in his power, deal with him in a manner for which he will have to answer before God. Abu Ghalib did this. Jarjara'i remained in his charge a few days. Abu Ghalib then gave out that he had fallen ill and died. The whole party will give their account to God the Just Judge.

In this year the rioting of the Turks commenced in Ahwaz, and presently spread over all 'Iraq.

Account of the cause of this rioting and how it began.

Financial straits and the arrogance of the troops had reached such proportions with Bakhtiyar that the country could not hold him, and his position became uncertain. His viziers and secretaries tried various expedients, but could effect no improvement or discover any satisfactory course. All their hopes were disappointed; whenever they attacked an enemy they were defeated and compelled to retire; for their edifice was built on unstable foundations, and columns of insufficient strength; naturally then they collapsed and the builders found procedure difficult. When Bakhtiyar and Ibn Baqiyyah returned from Mausil disappointed, they made up their minds to go to Ahwaz, examine into the accounts of Bukhtakin Azadhruyah, dismiss him from his governorship, draw up memoirs against him, exact money from him, and inflict on him a reverse. They would then separate the Turkish troops from Sabuktakin, reduce the numbers of those Turks who remained in Baghdad, and plot against him from a distance so as to be rid of him. (324) They would then secure his money, fief, and fortune, and so become affluent. In Sha'ban

of the year 363 (began April 27, 974) they accordingly proceeded to Ahwaz, and when they reached Wasit, Bukhtakin transmitted to them 300,000 dirhems. They next took up their quarters in Ahwaz, where he sent them what is usually sent to rulers, ministered to them, and voluntarily submitted to their scrutiny and instructions. But a few days elapsed before a dispute arose between the Turks and Dailemites on a trivial matter which might well have been set right before it grew serious and troublesome. Bakhtiyar and Ibn Baqiyyah seized the opportunity to make this a pretext for accomplishing their design. Only they muddled and bungled therein, acting without care or caution.

Account of the gross blundering and muddling committed in their procedure, which caused the plot to turn out ruinously for themselves.

Bakhtiyar had left behind in Baghdad his mother, brothers, children, wives, treasures, and most of his arms, with some of his horses, within the grasp of his enemy Sabuktakin, against whom he was plotting and about to declare war. He then tried to find a weak point among the Turks who were with him, and to snatch the slightest opportunity to turn them against himself and call Sabuktakin's attention to the designs against him. The beginning of the trouble was as follows. A Turkish retainer had taken up his quarters in Suq al-Ahwaz in a house which was near where one of the Dailemites dwelt. At its gate there was a pile of bricks with which the Turk wanted to build a manger for his horses. The Dailemite also wanted some of them, and sent his slave to take them. The Turk's slave tried to prevent him, and as he persisted, the two proceeded to wrangle and brawl, and then the Turk came out of his dwelling to assist his servant, and make the Dailemites desist. The Dailemite also came out to his servant's assistance and got the better of the Turk. The latter straightway rode

and called out the Turks, who assaulted the Dailemites. The Dailemites hastily donned their armour and assembled at Bakhtiyar's gate, where there was a wide space, in which one of the Turkish chiefs had pitched his tents, (325) owing to the scarcity of houses. The Dailemites surrounded him. He was intoxicated at the time. Hearing the shouts he rose, mounted his horse, and tried to join his comrades. One of the Dailemites got in his way, and began to insult him; the Turk rode straight at the Dailemite, the former having no defensive armour: and the Dailemite ran him through and killed him. The riot had now become serious. The Turks, bent on avenging their comrade, shot numerous arrows at the Dailemites, killing one man, and wounding several; leaving the town in a body they went out into the country, where they were followed by their slaves and attendants. Their commanders and officers however kept quiet in their houses, wishing to keep out of the rioting and to maintain their loyalty. Bakhtiyar tried hard to appease the rioters, but the matter had gone too far. Summoning the Dailemite commanders, he solicited their advice. They, knowing his intentions with regard to Sabuktakin the Chamberlain and the Turks, said: This is a movement which is spreading, and you have your own ideas about it. The right course for you is to arrest the Turkish chiefs who are stationed here, obtain the mastery over the country which is in the hands of Bukhtakin, and then advance to Baghdad to oust Sabuktakin thence, and so be rid of him and of the Turks.

It was Bakhtiyar's practice to listen to every speaker, and converse with any liar; he speedily embraced these people's views, sent to summon Bukhtakin Azadhruyah, his secretary Sahl b. Bishr, SUBASHI of Khwarizm, and Bektijur, father-in-law of Sabuktakin the Chamberlain, from their residences to his presence, arrested and fettered them. He proceeded to lay hands on Sabuk-

takin's fief in Ahwaz, dismissed his dependents thence, and wrote to Basrah ordering a proclamation to be made against the Turks and that the other troops should fall upon them. This proclamation was made, their residences were plundered, and they fled from the place.

Account of a scheme devised by Bakhtiyar, which failed.

Bakhtiyar had arranged with his mother that when he was away from Baghdad in Ahwaz and the number of the Turks remaining with Sabuktakin was thinned, she should give out that Bakhtiyar was dead, so that Sabuktakin might pay her a visit of condolence and sympathy in her affliction; Bakhtiyar had given the same instruction to his brother (326). When Sabuktakin presented himself they were to assault him, and put him under arrest. The hour that Bakhtiyar arrested the Turkish chiefs he wrote to her by carrier-pigeon to carry out their plan. So mother and brother circulated the story that news of his death had reached them, supposing that Sabuktakin would present himself without delay. He was however too far-sighted and deliberate to go to them, and had he gone, he would have presented himself fully prepared; for the slave-retainers of his palace were four hundred, exclusive of their dependents, of the Dailemites under his orders, and of his chamberlains and those who were in the same group. Hence this plan of Bakhtiyar was unsound and likely to come to grief. Sabuktakin confined himself to sending the family a message, enquiring about the source of the report, and did not himself mount till messengers and letters arrived from his followers, explaining what had actually occurred. He thereupon gathered the Turks who were stationed in Baghdad, recounted to them the treatment which their comrades had received, how the mask had been thrown off and they were now outlawed; they invited him to take the title Prince, and offered him their allegiance. He hesitated to take this step,

and sent a message to Abu Ishaq son of Mu'izz al-daulah, informing him that there was now an irreparable breach between himself and Bakhtiyar, and that the majority of the army were alienated from the latter. He was himself averse from the idea of disloyalty to his patrons, even when they discarded him and displayed ingratitude. He wished then to make him (Abu Ishaq) prince, and was prepared to assure the loyalty of all the Turks, to bring the Dailemites over from Bakhtiyar's side, and to render himself responsible for the government until Abu Ishaq's position was assured.

Account of the failure of this scheme after it had been settled, so that the great revolt broke out.

When Abu Ishaq, son of Mu'izz al-daulah, accepted this suggestion, and entered into the agreement, he supposed that Bakhtiyar would either remain quiet in his house with all his wants supplied, or would retire to his uncle Rukn al-daulah's court. Abu Ishaq went to his mother and told her the story. She bade him decline the proposal, fearing that his acceptance of it would lead to the death of one of her sons. She was visited (327) by the Dailemites stationed in Baghdad, who encouraged her to fight on her own account against Sabuktakin and his Turkish followers. She gathered them armed into the Palace, and on the following morning Sabuktakin found that Abu Ishaq had cancelled the agreement which they had made.

On Friday 8 Dhu'l-Qa'dah, (363), (July 31, 974) Sabuktakin with all the Turks rode forth bent on war, and commenced it. For two days continuously he engaged the forces of the Palace; on the third day he set fire to its extremities after he had isolated it, and the supplies of its defenders were exhausted. Abu Ishaq and his mother capitulated, as also did Abu Tahir¹ with

¹ Another son of Mu'izz al-daulah.

his followers. They requested Sabuktakin to make no opposition to their proceeding to Wasit, and not to humiliate his patron's womenfolk and children. Sabuktakin's sense of honour was aroused; so they were allowed to assemble in a *hudaidi* and departed southward. The Dailemites fled to Bakhtiyar in parties on rafts; one group of them remained behind in the service of Sabuktakin.

The Caliph Muti' had kept a *hudaidi* in readiness, of which when the civil war broke out he took advantage to start with the others who were descending the river; Sābuktakin despatched a number of *zabzabs* which forced him back to his Palace, where he was put into mild custody. Sabuktakin then took possession of the arms, horses, engines and dwellings belonging to Bakhtiyar in Baghdad, and installed the Turks in the houses of the Dailemites. The Turks proceeded to search for the womenfolk, deposits and other possessions of the Dailemites. The Sunnite populace rose in Sabuktakin's favour, and he appointed their leaders, commanders, officers and sergeants. He bestowed robes of honour upon them, mounted them on horses, made comrades of them, and dealt liberally with them; and he secured himself an army from this source.

Account of the deposition of Muti' and transference of the Caliphate to his son.

Muti' was suffering from the consequences of the paralytic stroke which he endeavoured to conceal¹; he had difficulty with his speech and was unable to move. When Sabuktakin became aware of his condition, he called upon him to abdicate in favour of his son AL-TA'I' LILLAH. (328) Muti' assented, appointed his son to succeed him, and himself abdicated the Caliphate in the presence of witnesses on Wednesday 13 Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 363 (Aug. 5, 974).

¹ Above, ii. 283.

CHAPTER VII.

CALIPHATE OF AL-TA'I' LILLAH.¹

Account of the causes which produced civil strife among the populace, which led to the devastation of Baghdad.

When the mob with which we have been dealing, who were the sect known as the Sunnah, progressed in favour with Sabuktakin, they began to persecute the Shi'ah, and indeed openly made war upon them. There was a rupture between the two factions, and, as the number of the Shi'ah was small, they entrenched themselves in the suburbs of Karkh on the Western side. There was a series of fights, wherein blood was shed and domestic sanctity violated. Karkh was burned a second time, having previously been burned in the vizierate of Abu'l-Fadl.² The tradesmen were reduced to poverty, their goods, stocks, families and dwellings being seized by bandits, to whom they had to pay blackmail. Whichever party thus obtained their protection proceeded to attack the other. Order was at an end, and the government powerless. The dispute between the two factions, which had formerly been on religious questions particularly, now became political as well as religious, as the Shi'ah adopted the watchword of Bakhtiyar and the Dailemites, while the Sunnah adopted that of Sabuktakin and the Turks.

Account of the course of events with Bakhtiyar in Ahwaz and the measures which he adopted.

He proceeded to lay hands on the fiefs of a number of Turks, and secured a hoard belonging to Azadhruyah

¹ His name was 'Abd al-Karim Abu Bakr. Miskawaihi is careless in not stating this here.

² Above, ii. 305,

at Jundaisabur. The mutinous Turks gathered in the Sawad of Ahwaz; some of them joined Sabuktakin, whilst others were conciliated by Bakhtiyar.

(329) *Account of the reason which compelled Bakhtiyar to conciliate the Turks after he had irritated them.*

Bakhtiyar's palace retainers took offence and became disordered, and he was visited by the Turks who had fled from Basrah to remonstrate with him about his ill-treatment of them without any fault of theirs. The Dailemites also told him that they could not dispense in war with the Turkish cavalry. He began to waver and hesitate, and ultimately decided to release Azadh-ruyah and give him Sabuktakin's place with the title Chamberlain of Chamberlains. He supposed that the Turks would be satisfied with this appointment and desert Sabuktakin to join him. Bakhtiyar further wrote to Basrah ordering a proclamation that the Turks had an amnesty, must no longer be attacked, and should have what had been taken from them restored to them. He proceeded to release Subashi of Khwarizm, but kept Bektijur in custody owing to his connexion by marriage with Sabuktakin. Hearing how his mother, brothers, and family were proceeding to Wasit, he departed thither.

He wrote to the courts of Fars and Rayy complaining of his troubles, and requesting relief. He sent these letters incessantly, increasing the emphasis as the insurrection grew in gravity. He also wrote to the Hamdanid Abu Taghlib, asking for his personal help with his army.¹ He also bethought him of taking refuge with 'Imran b. Shahin, and sent this person robes of honour with a horse with a gold saddle and a rescript containing a discharge of the arrears of the sum which he had undertaken to pay as the price of peace.² He further sued for the

¹ Perhaps this is the letter to him in Sabi's collection, p. 205.

² Above, ii. 297.

hand of one of 'Imran's daughters, and requested him to send a force by water to help him against the Turks. His envoy on this occasion was a chamberlain named IBRAHIM B. ISMA'IL. When he delivered Bakhtiyar's message to 'Imran, the latter replied: My friend, you have come with proposals which find little favour with us and are little suited to our circumstances.

(330) *Reply of 'Imran b. Shahin to Bakhtiyar's message, and certain supplementary observations of his which were ominous, and afterwards came true.*

As for the debt which is acquitted (he said) it is unseemly to claim gratitude from me on that account, when we are both aware that the debt was unclaimable. As for the alliance, I enter into no matrimonial alliance with anyone in the world, except when the man is from my family, and the woman from his. Members of Abu Talib's family have solicited the hands of my daughters, and in spite of their being allies¹ I have not assented in any case; nor have I accepted as a son-in-law any of my brother's sons, who are my daughters' peers. If however he wishes to form an alliance of the other sort, I am prepared. As for his robe and his horse, I do not wear your attire, nor do I ride horses; my horses are these ships. However my son Abu Mohammed will accept the horse, and will not return it. As for despatching my army, my men will not acquiesce in mixing with yours owing to the number of them whom they have killed in the course of years and in numerous engagements.—He then said to the envoy: Say to him: He had best learn dignity and seriousness, and not display such levity and frivolity. You made an armed attack on me, and retired in disgrace; you have attacked Ahwaz, and are now retiring in disgrace and in

¹ He claimed to be of the tribe Sulaim, and probably had in mind some story of an ancient alliance.

the present state of civil strife. I am convinced that some day you will be reduced to coming to seek refuge with me ; and when you are in my house, I will remind you of this prophecy, but you will then see that I shall treat you with kindness and very differently from the manner wherein I have been treated by you and by your father before you.

People marvelled at the agreement between 'Imran's forecast and what proved actually destined to come about. For Bakhtiyar was actually reduced to coming and putting himself in 'Imran's power, as a refugee and suppliant, as we shall presently narrate.

Rukn al-daulah's reply to the message sent him.

Rukn al-daulah sent a reply which proceeded from sincere concern and affection for Bakhtiyar. It was as follows : The calamity (he said) which has befallen him is severe, and requires men, money, (331) arms, strategy, authority and loyalty. I am old and find difficulty in moving, and am faced with other engagements and embarrassments. So I devolve this business on my son 'Adud al-daulah, who has all the requirements which I have enumerated ready to hand. He will advance from Fars to aid Bakhtiyar with a vast army, while from here the vizier Abu'l-Fath son of Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid shall proceed to his support.—Rukn al-daulah based this message on the communications made to him by his son 'Adud al-daulah, who was following the affairs of 'Iraq day by day, and anxious to become its master, owing to the mismanagement of Bakhtiyar which he witnessed, the confusion of affairs there occasioned by the misconduct of the viziers, the loss of respect for authority, the disorganization, and the ruin of the population. He also was ill-disposed towards Bakhtiyar against whom he harboured certain grievances from the past, such as Bakhtiyar's censure of him on a certain occasion, his competing with him in rank, refusing

certain special requests made by 'Adud al-daulah for rare documents with which Bakhtiyar declined to part, accomplished singing-girls whom he would not give away, Arab horses, the sale of which to 'Adud al-daulah he prohibited, as he desired to have a monopoly of the horses from the desert. These matters accumulated in 'Adud al-daulah's mind, whence he wanted the sedition to become serious and the trouble to be aggravated, in order that Bakhtiyar's power might come to an end, when he would appear on the scene personally with his armies and resources, arrange the affairs of those realms in his own interest and add them to his own. So he sent the following message to his father Rukn al-daulah : You are too old to take part in a campaign, and you have no money. I have such and such sums in various fortresses and stores.—'Adud al-daulah described his hoards as vast, and in truth they were so ; in addition he was held in awe by his followers, and felicitous in his schemes. He wanted however to utilize these things for his personal advantage, not for the benefit of a cousin whom he regarded as a fool, one who ruined and neglected his affairs, and committed the vizierate and administration of the realm (332) to a man to whom no one would resort for sound counsel, felicitous planning, professional efficiency or high reputation. And this cousin in addition openly competed with him, refused his requests, and insulted his agents when they went to him on business! 'Adud al-daulah in his correspondence with his father Rukn al-daulah employed such plausible language as has been cited, combining affection for himself, and the desire to champion him, and offer his own life and those of his troops as Rukn al-daulah's ransom in the cause of the latter's nephew and his own cousin. His secret plan was that Bakhtiyar's affairs were to get into such disorder that in order to save anything Bakhtiyar would have to conciliate him ('Adud al-daulah) and no-one else.

*'Adud al-daulah's reply to Bakhtiyar's message
to him.*

Having warned his father Rukn al-daulah not to move, and promised that he would undertake the business in his stead, he answered Bakhtiyar, advising him to stay where he was, otherwise things would grow worse. He was not to move from Wasit till he ('Adud al-daulah) joined him and undertook the direction of affairs. He proceeded to put off his expedition, and meanwhile Bakhtiyar was attacked by the Turks and others from different ranks of the army who had joined them; he was besieged and reduced to extremities. He did indeed hold out against them and display endurance, but it was the endurance of one whom the enemy respects and spares. Thus when the siege was being pressed, and Bakhtiyar's quarters were amid the palms, where there was no place for the Turkish cavalry to manœuvre, while his own followers were Dailemites who rested against the palms and moved about them without being seen :—still for all that there were occasions when some venturesome enterprising Turk could get at Bakhtiyar, who when he perceived that he was in his enemy's power, would bid him think of God and of the favours which he had received, and how he was his (Bakhtiyar's) and his father's creature, and address to him other words which would soften his heart and make him lower his eyes, and the Turk after having him in his power, would leave him alone, wishing some one rather than himself to be instrumental in his death.

Bakhtiyar continued in this condition, wherein he had to put up with hunger, nakedness, exhaustion of munitions, fear of being assailed by some one who would show him no mercy and feel no scruple, and kept writing to his uncle and cousin. 'Adud al-daulah procrastinated and promised to advance, with the sluggishness of one who purposely delays and is waiting for the other to be

ruined. Rukn al-daulah protested against this, and kept urging his son (333) and complaining of his delay. At last 'Adud al-daulah found that a start had to be made, and advanced from Fars while Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid advanced from Rayy. The forces accompanying the vizier Abu'l-Fath were small as compared with those provided by 'Adud al-daulah in numbers, vigour and equipment. The reason was that the latter made a great effort, leaving no source whence he could draw troops untapped; his operations not being in the style of one who intended merely to assist his cousin and then withdraw, but rather of a man who was taking the offensive and meant after conquest to defend his acquisitions and remain. This attitude of his did not escape people's eyes, owing to the quantity of material for permanent tents which he took about with him, and which he wished to be erected and established in each town with the equipment provided for them, consisting in abundant furniture and such complete decoration as is not employed by one who starts on a relief expedition with the intention of retiring when that relief has been achieved.

With regard to the message sent to the *Hamdanid* Abu Taghlib, the reply was a speedy assent. He despatched his brother *Husain b. Nasir al-daulah* to Takrit with a portion of his army, and there he remained a long time, waiting till the Turks should depart from Baghdad Southward to fight Bakhtiyar, when he would go to the capital. When after some delay Sabuktakin did proceed South, as shall be narrated, Abu Taghlib advanced with his whole army to Baghdad, in order to be able to claim from Bakhtiyar the remission, to which Bakhtiyar had set his hand, of the tribute agreed upon in Mausil.¹ He acted in Baghdad as shall be described.

¹ Above, ii. 319. Apparently Bakhtiyar made Abu Taghlib the same offer as he made 'Imran.

*Account of the messages which passed between
Sabuktakin and Bakhtiyar.*

Sabuktakin sent the following message to Bakhtiyar : You, he said, have done yourself grievous injury in the acts which you have perpetrated and the schemes which you have tried ; all that you are doing or endeavouring is so much blundering. The power has now passed out of your hands. Evacuate Wasit, leaving it and Baghdad in my hands to defray the pay of the Turks for which I am now responsible, and Basrah, Ahwaz, (334) and their dependencies may remain in your hands to meet the pay of the Dailemites. Make common cause with me, do not bring in a third party, and do not open an avenue for war, wherein you are no expert. I am giving you good advice, anxious for your welfare and carrying out my patron's charge with regard to you, though you have not done the like in my case.

Bakhtiyar put this letter before the Dailemites, who censured it, charged it with arrogance, treated its author and its bearer with contempt, and sent the latter back, his mission a failure and his proposals rejected. Sabuktakin now set about preparing for a campaign in earnest, and in the first place sent a warning in the Caliph's name to Bakhtiyar, to which a reply was sent not to be inserted here. The reply to the letter reached Ta'i' and Sabuktakin¹ when they had left Baghdad and reached Dair 'Aqul. Simultaneously with its arrival Muti' died (having travelled with his son), and Sabuktakin was attacked by a fatal illness. He lingered four days in Dair 'Aqul, and died. His body was conveyed to Baghdad.

¹ The letter to Sabuktakin is in Sabi's collection, pp. 227-238, a highly interesting document, containing a summary of the foregoing history with some allusions which Miskawaihi does not explain. It is followed by a private letter to the Caliph, addressed as the Emir, who is warned by historical examples against the treachery of the Turks, and promised the allegiance of all the Buwaihids if he will desert Sabuktakin and join the writer ; it is suggested that he might do this with the aid of Bedouins. Both documents are dated 8 Muharram, 364 (Sept. 28, 974).

YEAR 364.

The Turks were not disorganized by this blow, but remained steadfast, and agreed to make ALPTAKIN their leader. He was a freedman of Mu'izz al-daulah at whose court he was next in order to Sabuktakin, had long been respected as a chieftain by the Turks, and had experience of active service. They appointed him their chief, and he decided to carry out the planned offensive. Bakhtiyar had crossed over to the Western side of Wasit, having evacuated the Eastern, and having collected and taken with him all the ships and barges, so as to leave no rivercraft on the Eastern side; he had also brought the cultivators and other classes of the population over, and billeted his forces among the dwellings of Wasit with the intention of fighting the Turks and employing the Dailemites against them—in an engagement if the Dailemites proved sufficiently steadfast, otherwise in holding out until help arrived from Rayy and Shiraz. He regarded the death of the Turkish leader as an auspicious coincidence for himself, imagining that they would become disordered and disorganized; presently he learned that their order was unimpaired, and so he refrained from moving Northwards.

The Turks now made a united advance. With the aid of vessels which they had brought (335) from Baghdad they bridged the river; they had also with them numerous *zabzabs* and marines, led by Hamdan son of Nasir al-daulah. He however deserted to Bakhtiyar, with all his force. He crossed from the Eastern to the Western side, and was well received by Bakhtiyar, who gave him presents.

Account of the reason for their sending Hamdan on ahead and of his deserting to Bakhtiyar.

At the outbreak of the insurrection Hamdan son of Nasir al-daulah was in Baghdad, and was asked by Sabuk-

takin to join his party. He assented, and took a solemn oath to be faithful and true. He acquiesced in this course because of the hostility between himself and Abu Taghlib, who adhered to his friendship with Bakhtiyar. *Hamdan* therefore became closely attached to Sabuktakin, aided and supported him ; and was sent forward by Sabuktakin with the van. When Sabuktakin died, Alptakin wrote to *Hamdan* informing him of this event, and how he had been appointed in Sabuktakin's place, and desired him to come back in order that they might remodel their plans and agree upon their course. When *Hamdan* perused this letter, he supposed that the Turks had become disorganized by Sabuktakin's death, and decided to go over to Bakhtiyar. He had also learned of the expedition of 'Adud al-daulah and Rukn al-daulah's cavalry. Forwarding to Bakhtiyar the letter which he had received from Alptakin, he informed the prince that he was about to return to Alptakin, but would then proceed to the prince, and made certain stipulations and demands. His letter reached Bakhtiyar after the latter had crossed over to the Western side ; when *Hamdan* had his meeting with Alptakin, the latter restored to him his command of the van, as it had been in Sabuktakin's days ; with his retainers and the dependents who accompanied him he deserted to Bakhtiyar, who welcomed him, and sent him quantities of money, rich apparel, and war material, such as horses, saddlery, mules and camels.¹

The Turks were discouraged and halted for a day ; they then advanced in a mass, and took up their quarters less than a parasang from Wasit. Crossing (336) on their bridge, they advanced against Bakhtiyar's lines and attacked different parts at different times.² This lasted for some fifty days ; the common people on both sides were emboldened to use violent language and coarse insults ; it came to pass on one of these days

¹ Whence had he them ?

² This appears to be the sense.

that *Hamdan* charged the Turks ; they shot at him ; one of their arrows lodged in the ear of his horse, which threw him. He rose to mount another, but being clad in iron could not do it, and was recognized by the Turks who belaboured him with their clubs till they had so severely wounded him, that he nearly died, and then took him captive, he being exhausted. He received medical care and recovered, except that he limped badly with his right thigh, and this lasted to the end of his life. *Alptakin* presently was merciful to him and released him, and after obtaining a hostage from him restored him to his former condition. *Hamdan* was present with him at the battle of the *Diyala* till the Turks were routed, when he went over to '*Adud al-daulah*.

The war continued to be waged between the *Dailemites* and *Turks* in *Wasit*, with results favourable to the *Turks*. The *Dailemites* were many times on the verge of defeat and rout ; many of them were killed owing to the imperfection of their defensive armour, and the superiority of the *Turkish* weapons. The siege was severely pressed against *Bakhtiyar*, who was surrounded, and as it were "in the fowler's net." The *Turks* encompassed him on all sides, and his situation was as I described above. He sent letter after letter to *Abu Taghlib*, begging him to proceed Southward, and to '*Adud al-daulah* begging him to come to the rescue, informing him that his (*Bakhtiyar's*) realm had slipped out of his grasp, and that '*Adud al-daulah* had a better right to it than the man who had usurped it. In one of his letters *Bakhtiyar* actually quoted the verse which '*Uthman* had quoted to '*Ali* :

If I be to be devoured, then be thou the devourer—none better ; else come to the rescue ere I be torn in pieces.¹

Abu Taghlib, who had sent his brother *Husain* on ahead, as has been (337) narrated above, advanced with

¹ Supposed to have been sent by the third Caliph to '*Ali*, when the former was besieged in his house in *Medinah*.

his whole army and came to Baghdad which he found in disorder owing to the banditti ; these he suppressed, executing a great many. He transferred to Mausil a number of valuable articles, precious fragments, stores and deposits of which he had obtained possession. 'Adud al-daulah after the procrastination and hesitation which has been recorded finally started and joined forces with Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid in Ahwaz.

Account of the reason for Alptakin's¹ return to Baghdad and Abu Taghlib's flight thence to Mausil.

When Alptakin heard of 'Adud al-daulah's arrival in Baghdad, his heart palpitated, (338) and he thought it best to proceed thither, and having the city in his rear, fight on the Diyala.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK OBSERVES : I was one of those who travelled from Rayy in the company of Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid, and our main fear and alarm was lest the Turks should have got before us to a place below Wasit called Badhibin² and get the river with the city and supplies behind them, leaving us to traverse a desert five days each way³ to get at them, and encounter them when we were exhausted with fatigue, with no inhabited country behind us and finding no place where we could encamp. If they kept us waiting many days. it would mean our ruin, whereas if they attacked us immediately after our arrival, they would be fresh and rested, whereas we should be weak and weary. Our numbers were what I described above. The Turks were not guided by providence to this plan, but retired to Baghdad, thinking it their best course to get possession of that city and have it behind their backs while they fought on the

¹ Miskawaihi makes no allusion to Bakhtiyar's endeavour to make terms with Alptakin. A letter addressed by Bakhtiyar to this Turk, dated 3 Safar, which had been preceded by one conveyed by Abu Ahmad Musawi, offering favourable conditions, is preserved in Ibrahim Sabi's collection, p. 263.

² See i. 358.

³ This appears to be the sense,

Diyala. Fortune favoured us therein. So we entered Wasit without hindrance. Bakhtiyar, his two brothers and Ibn Baqiyyah after the departure of the Turks went out to meet 'Adud al-daulah, dismounted and paid him the other honours which he deserved. 'Adud al-daulah then advanced on the Eastern side, and ordered Bakhtiyar to do the like facing him on the Western side in the direction of Baghdad.

When Alptakin was halfway on his road to Baghdad, he sent a raiding party of four hundred Turkish retainers to surprise Abu Taghlib. They dealt him a severe blow ; in addition his army mutinied, so he fled to Mausil in disgraceful style, and his army was cut to pieces. When Alptakin got to Baghdad, he found himself closely besieged, being surrounded by cavalry on all sides, For Bakhtiyar wrote to *DABBAH B. MOHAMMED ASADI*, a man of 'Ain Tamr, head of numerous clans, who had repeatedly taken this liberty, to raid the outskirts of Baghdad and prevent supplies being imported, which he did ; regarding it as an opportunity for gratifying his desire, he plundered the Sawad, and infested the roads. Bakhtiyar further despatched (339) a brother's son of his vizier Ibn Baqiyyah, known by the sobriquet *ABU'L-HAMRA*, with a party of the Banu Shaiban on the Eastern side to pillage the outskirts of Baghdad and besiege it from that side. Moreover the forces of 'Adud al-daulah, Rayy and Bakhtiyar were advancing towards him, with the intention of engaging him (Alptakin), while Abu Taghlib was cutting off supplies from the direction of Mausil, and sending out raiding expeditions. The siege began to press heavily on him, food became scarce, supplies were cut off, and the inhabitants were in a state of ferment. They plundered what was on hand in the city, and the civil war prevented people from carrying on their trades and industries. Alptakin was unable to ask for what he wanted, so he began to track

out the places where he supposed that there was food, grain, or war-material, and seize them. He was reduced to riding in person to the dwelling of one of the nobles, breaking into it, and carrying off what it contained.

'Adud al-daulah advanced, as we stated, on the Eastern side and Bakhtiyar opposite him on the Western. When he reached Dair 'Aqul, he got his army into battle-array, stationing his personal squadron in the centre, Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid with the army of Rayy on the right, and Abu Ishaq son of Mu'izz al-daulah with Ibn Baqiyyah and a portion of Bakhtiyar's army on the left ; in this order he entered Mada'in. News arrived that Alptakin had come out to the Diyala and taken up his station there in readiness for an engagement. He had thrown a number of bridges over the Diyala, meaning to cross and intending to engage the armies in open country between the Diyala and Mada'in, where his freedom of movement would, he hoped, enable him to gain his end.

(340) Alptakin crossed those bridges, though it had not entered into any one's mind that he would cross the Diyala, instead of entrenching himself therewith and fighting behind it. 'Adud al-daulah advanced in perfect order till he got to a village there, whence the cavalry of Alptakin, which he had arranged in squadrons, could be seen. A small canal came in the way in this village, and it took some time before the armies crossed it and got on the same territory as the squadrons.

Account of the haste and over-eagerness displayed by the army of Bakhtiyar which was on 'Adud al-daulah's left, nearly producing a general defeat.

The army of Bakhtiyar that was stationed on the left under Abu Ishaq and Ibn Baqiyyah rushed forward without orders, leaving the lines, and disturbing the dressing. They were eager to display their superior proficiency, and anxious to engage the enemy. 'Adud

al-daulah sent to stop them, but being accustomed to act independently they declined to be stopped, and went straight forward, being lured on by the Turks, till they had got to a distance from the rest of the army, when the Turks turned upon them, slew a number of them, and by a series of charges effected great destruction among them. They then perceived the error which they had committed. 'Adud al-daulah sent a detachment of his troops to their assistance, but these were unable to help them and got into the same plight. He, seeing this, advanced in unbroken order till he had got up with them at a time when they were on the verge of being wiped out; when (341) he had come close to the main body of the Turks, he charged'; the Turks were unable to hold their ground, some of them deserted, and the sword was given free play with the rest. Many were killed; their flight drove them to the bridges which they had placed across the Diyala, where the jostling introduced difficulties, and great numbers of them and of the bandits who made common cause with them perished by killing and drowning. 'Adud al-daulah's army mounted on their shoulders,¹ crossed the bridges behind them, pillaged their camp and baggage, and set fire to their tents and pavilions. Night came on, and 'Adud al-daulah's troops rested on the spot, while the others fled regardless of each other.

At the moment of victory 'Adud al-daulah sent a bearer of the good news to Bakhtiyar. It was Saturday 14 Jumada i, 364 (Jan. 30, 975). He remained outside the city till he had learned what had happened to the Turks. He then entered the city in splendid style, and made a procession through it to the Shammasiyyah Gate. Bakhtiyar proceeded on a parallel line and encamped opposite him, remaining in his place until the Turks had got far away and news reached them from Takrit that the Turks had arrived there in a disgrace-

¹ *i.e.*, pursued them closely.

ful state of disorganization and discord. He then bethought him of returning to his palace. He was much disturbed by the fact that the Caliph Ta'i' was in with the Turks, acting according to their wishes, and going about with them in their wanderings. He sent envoy after envoy to the Caliph, having indeed sent such to him before,¹ and kept on coaxing and cajoling till he brought him back to the Palace of the Caliphate, the abode of the Imams.²

Account of what took place between Bakhtiyar and his army ; how he retired from the command ; how Rukn al-daulah disapproved of this ; of the scheme whereby this arrangement was repudiated and Bakhtiyar was restored to his rank and state.

When 'Adud al-daulah had won this victory, no-one, near or far, had any doubt that he (342) would assume possession of this realm and incorporate it with his own, owing to Bakhtiyar's inability to govern it, his devotion to all sorts of amusements and frivolities, and the liberties taken with him by the Dailemites and Turks. 'Adud al-daulah however thought of public opinion, and was aware besides that his father Rukn al-daulah would not tolerate or consent to such a step. So he organized a banquet to which he invited Bakhtiyar and his brothers, Ibn Baqiyyah, and the rest of the army of Baghdad, and at which he bestowed various robes of honour suitable to their various ranks. He made this a farewell gathering, and giving out that he was about to start for Fars, he ordered provisions to be got ready in the places where his troops were billeted. Secretly however he instructed the chief men in the army to mutiny against Bakhtiyar, clamour for the production

¹ Above, ii. 334 n.

² In Sabi's Letters that on p. 10 is a report sent by Bakhtiyar to Rukn al-daulah immediately after the taking of Baghdad ; whereas that on p. 160 is a circular note by the Caliph dealing with his experiences. It is dated Rajab, 364,

of their pay, the improvement of their conditions, and some fair recompense for their unswerving loyalty to him, and having risked their lives against the Turks in his defence. They carried out these instructions; they mutinied and made extortionate demands. Bakhtiyar was empty-handed, having no hoard, and not receiving a dirhem owing to the devastation of the country and the continuance of the civil wars. 'Adud al-daulah sent him a private message, wherein he instructed him to face the mutineers with sternness and asperity, to explain the reality of the situation, not to make them any promise which he could not perform, but tell them frankly that he abdicated his sovereignty, and resigned it to them. 'Adud al-daulah promised that if he did this, he ('Adud al-daulah) would mediate and secure for him what he desired. Bakhtiyar saw no way to avoid this course, and could think of no plan other than that which 'Adud al-daulah suggested. Hastening to adopt it, he requested their leave to abdicate his sovereignty, locked his doors, dismissed his secretaries and dependents, and sent a private message to 'Adud al-daulah, requesting him to approach the troops and bring them round. 'Adud al-daulah replied that he was not their commander, neither had he any right to deal with them; they must look after themselves and choose the leader they wanted.

These negotiations went on for three days continuously, the mutiny increasing in gravity; ultimately the mutineers made no secret of their intentions, and were about to storm Bakhtiyar's residence and dispatch him. Bakhtiyar then implored the protection of 'Adud al-daulah, demanding that mediation which he had promised. 'Adud al-daulah sent the mutineers a message which pacified them, ordered them to disband, and promised that he would attend to their interests. He proceeded to summon Bakhtiyar, who was trembling with fright, to his own residence, as well as his two brothers (343), ostensibly out of regard for them, and

fear lest the mutineers might make one of the latter a figure-head for their revolt, and so open a door to division¹; Bakhtiyar sent a message to them in the same strain, and both obeyed the summons.

'Adud al-daulah now held a meeting of the mutineers and the whole army, whom he informed that Bakhtiyar's abdication and retirement were in accordance with his own desire to look after their interests and attach them to himself; that he would incorporate them with his own army, and extend his beneficence to them; that he was the real ruler, Bakhtiyar having merely been a deputy of Rukn al-daulah and himself²; and that the latter had now abdicated, and his abdication been accepted; the obligations on both sides were discharged. —The troops acquiesced, dispersed, and were confident of his good faith; and that he had been at the bottom of the whole affair. He ordered measures to be taken against Bakhtiyar and his brothers, whom he placed in the custody of certain of his trusted associates. This was on Friday —4 Jumada ii, 364 (March 12, 975). He housed their mother with them.

The Caliph *Ta'i'* disliked Bakhtiyar owing to the war that had been waged between them, and because his appointment to the Caliphate had been brought about by some one else, at a time when Bakhtiyar was no longer head of affairs. He therefore relied on 'Adud al-daulah's protection. When he learned how Bakhtiyar had elected to abdicate, he felt relieved. He was at the time with the Turks at Takrit in the power of Alptakin. Discussions took place between him and them with reference to his returning to Baghdad, and they asked him to proceed with them to Syria. This however was impossible, as they were a defeated and disorganized host. So he gave them his promise that if they could recover them-

¹ *i.e.*, in the Buwaihid camp.

² The first part of this statement was correct. As successor to 'Imad al-daulah, 'Adud al-daulah might also claim to be sovereign.

selves, and he had the power and they the security, he would devise some scheme whereby he could return to them, or they might rejoin him. On this they agreed, and *Ta'i'* went home to his Palace, while the Turks departed for Syria.

'*Adud al-daulah* ordered the Caliph's Palace to be renewed and repaired, to be freshly furnished and fitted, and the various services there to be organized. He incurred vast expense on this. He sent the army out to meet the Caliph (344) and went out to meet him himself on Thursday Rajab 8, 364 (March 24, 975). This was their first meeting. '*Adud al-daulah* embarked with the Caliph in a *hudaïdi* which the former had sent to him, and they entered Baghdad together. A throne had been set in front of him for '*Adud al-daulah*, who kissed the ground before him. He then sat down on the throne and the pair were surrounded in the water by *zabzabs* and barges, while the army marched on the bank of the Tigris. So the Caliph entered his Palace and established himself on his throne. '*Adud al-daulah* transmitted to his stores a quantity of money, wearing apparel, rich furniture of all sorts, also a number of horses, trappings, slaves and instruments. He confirmed the Caliph in the possession of the "estates of the service"¹ which had been partly withdrawn, owing to the encroachments of *Mu'izz al-daulah's* dependents, and afterwards of *Bakhtiyar's*, some of whom had appropriated their outlying portions, while others had obtained some of them in fief from the Caliph, and yet others had farmed them for rents which they had no intention of paying, while they could not easily be expropriated. '*Adud al-daulah* restored all these lands to their proper owner, and the Caliph ordered letters² to be composed in his name to the provinces, announcing the re-establishment of the

¹ See above, ii. 108.

² In the letter of *Ta'i'* '*Adud al-daulah* and *Rukn al-daulah* are mentioned by name, but no one else.

government, the obliteration of the traces of civil war, and the general concord. They were written and distributed over the whole empire.

Account of the revolt of Marzuban son of Bakhtiyar in Basrah and of Ibn Baqiyyah in Wasit.

'Adud al-daulah had given orders to Bakhtiyar to write to his son Marzuban, who was governor of Basrah,¹ bidding him come North, to express his acquiescence in the resignation of the control of the army and the civil population to which his father had agreed. Bakhtiyar wrote the letter and 'Adud al-daulah despatched it by a trusty agent of his, named 'ALI B. MOHAMMED JAUHARI, who had accompanied him from Shiraz, and whom he instructed to come to an agreement with MOHAMMED B. DARBAND, commander in chief of the army of Basrah, who was related to HUSAIN B. IBRAHIM, an officer of high rank in 'Adud al-daulah's army. It did not occur to any one that Marzuban would decline, or entertain the idea of revolting, owing to his tender years,² and because (345) his army consisted of Dailemites, and its commander whom we have mentioned was a partisan of 'Adud al-daulah. Now 'Ali b. Mohammed Jauhari on his journey met a writer in the employ of Bakhtiyar named 'ISA B. AL-FADL TABARI, who was on his way North from Basrah. 'Adud al-daulah's agent informed this man of the situation, therein committing an indiscretion. Bakhtiyar's writer turned back to Basrah and got first with the news to Marzuban, whom he inspired with alarm, assured that his father was not a free agent, and advised to rebel.

When Jauhari arrived in Basrah after him, he commenced by delivering to Mohammed b. Darband the letters in his possession; the latter proceeded with him and them to Marzuban, both supposing that he would

¹ Above, ii. 247.

² He was born 349, and so was about 16 years old at this time.

be unprepared. They found him however prepared to defy them, and indeed he arrested the pair, and openly revolted. He addressed a plaintive letter to Rukn al-daulah, informing him of the treatment which his father Bakhtiyar and his uncles had received, and assuring him that all the communications which he received from 'Adud al-daulah and his vizier Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid in the name of Bakhtiyar were forgeries; that the two had continuously been plotting and had ultimately succeeded in arresting his father, and that he was holding out in his confidence that Rukn al-daulah would see him righted and protect him. He sent a series of letters by a number of agents.

Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah had a deputy in Ahwaz resembling himself in being destitute of a clerk's qualifications and all other merits, named MOHAMMED B. 'ABDAN AHWAZI. Hearing what had happened, he seized all the money whereon he could lay hands, enrolled a number of troops, and proceeded to Basrah ranging himself among the partisans. He became influential with Marzuban, sharpened his intelligence in the procedure of rebellion, assumed the functions of a vizier, and promised to help him out of difficulties. We have already mentioned Ibn Baqiyyah's complete want of good qualities. His true character could conceal itself in the days of Bakhtiyar, but under the rule of 'Adud al-daulah he was not thought worthy to be a corporal of infantry at his gate, far less to mix with his viziers and secretaries; only he professed to be greatly aiding 'Adud (346) al-daulah in his plans and serving him in his measures. He acted thus out of fear for his person, and of being reduced to his proper station, and because he was aware that if Bakhtiyar were restored to the administration, he would certainly arrest him (Ibn Baqiyyah), set covetous eyes upon him, and treat him as he had treated his competent viziers when he was in need of money. 'Adud al-daulah was unwilling to give

him a position among his competent viziers, such as NASR B. HARUN, who was with him on this occasion, and was the *doyen* of the clerks, acknowledged master of calculation in particular,¹ though regarded by people as wanting in knowledge of mankind, and too regardless of the claims of meritorious and highly competent men. 'Adud al-daulah was also unwilling to cashier him² entirely, as he would in that case have disappointed his hopes and expectations. So he appointed him vizier to his son Abu'l-Husain, and offered him his choice of provinces to farm. He chose Wasit, Takrit, 'Ukbara and Awana, making an offer of tribute which largely exceeded what the governors were in the habit of offering. 'Adud al-daulah gave orders that a contract should be given him for all these. Ibn Baqiyyah demanded the confirmation of his title,³ of the use of his *kunyah* by the Sultan, and of his right to wear the *qaba*.⁴ All this was granted, and 'Adud al-daulah bestowed on him precious robes, mounted him on horses with golden trappings, presented him with a fief of 500,000 dirhems, and gave him the right to present himself at entertainments and social gatherings. 'Adud al-daulah withdrew from him nothing to which he had been accustomed except the name vizier, and indeed he had not actually discharged that office in a vizier's style so that he could claim to be addressed as such. Ibn Baqiyyah professed great satisfaction, profound gratitude and to be uttering incessant benedictions on 'Adud al-daulah. This however was only a cloak for spite and malice. He proceeded Southward to Wasit.

'Imran, ruler of the Marshes, felt alarm, and being anxious to put himself in good relations with 'Adud al-daulah's new administration wrote to him requesting formal appointment, investiture and confirmation; and

¹ In *Faraj ba'd al-shiddah* ii. 36, it is shown that this science is necessary for the clerk of *kharaj*.

² Ibn Baqiyyah. ³ See above, ii. 314.

⁴ As vizier. See above, ii. 241, etc.

received a favourable answer. The *Hamdanid* Abu Taghlib, ruler of Mausil, did the like, promising to transmit the sums which he had previously transmitted to Bakhtiyar, and his request was granted by 'Adud al-daulah, (347) who excused him from transmitting money by reason of some previous correspondence and old friendship between them. The contract for Ahwaz was given to Sahl b. Bishr the Christian, who received a robe of honour and departed thither. He had been a prisoner in the power of Bakhtiyar, who had fined him on a trumpery ground. The districts of the Sawad were distributed among officials, and the general administration was in the hands of Abu Mansur Nasr b. Harun.

No object now remained whereon 'Adud al-daulah had set his heart except to wrest Basrah out of Marzuban's grasp.

When Ibn Baqiyyah reached Wasit, he threw off his allegiance, became openly defiant, and arrested the officers who had been attached to him; giving out that he was indignant at what had befallen his master Bakhtiyar, whereas he had himself suggested all that had been done, in accordance, it is true, with 'Adud al-daulah's own ideas. He next wrote to 'Imran b. Shahin, invoking his assistance, and warning him against 'Adud al-daulah's plans, who, he said, was not likely to put up with such a neighbour as 'Imran retaining his present condition. 'Imran assented to his proposals. He also wrote to Marzuban son of Bakhtiyar, requesting supplies of men, money and arms; but he failed to find here what he wanted, being suspected of disloyalty to Marzuban and his father, and known to be looking after his own interests. Ibn Baqiyyah found himself unable to go to Marzuban himself, as Mohammed b. 'Abdan was acting as his vizier. So Ibn Baqiyyah designed to flee, when pursued, to 'Imran; meanwhile he went and took possession of the district of Nahr al-Fadl. He wrote to Sahl b. Bishr so as to mislead him into assenting to

his proposals and acting according to his wishes. 'Adud al-daulah had decided to send a river-expedition for the re-conquest of Basrah, but when Ibn Baqiyyah revolted, he made his objective Wasit, whither he sent a powerful army. Ibn Baqiyyah came out against *him* in rivercraft with the troops supplied by 'Imran.

Letters came to Marzuban from Rukn al-daulah, bidding him maintain himself in Basrah, encouraging him to resist 'Adud al-daulah, and promising that Rukn al-daulah would make a personal expedition to Baghdad to expel 'Adud al-daulah and reinstate Bakhtiyar. He wrote in the same style to Ibn Baqiyyah and the Hamdanid Abu Taghlib. These regions were now in revolt (348) against 'Adud al-daulah, who found himself in straits, with his enemies on all sides emboldened against him, supplies from Fars and from the sea cut off, and nothing but the city of Baghdad remaining in his power. There too the populace insulted him, and his situation threatened to become disagreeable. He decided to send Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid on a mission to his father Rukn al-daulah, to tell him the truth about what had occurred, explaining how he had gone to a distance from his own dominions, defrayed the costs of the expedition without hope of recovery, and in addition risked his life and his army, just as Rukn al-daulah had risked the life of his vizier and the greater part of his army; how he had reduced the realm of 'Iraq to order, and brought the Caliphate back into Rukn al-daulah's empire. He was to add that Bakhtiyar was a man under whose control no country would ever be quiet or well regulated, and that if he ('Adud al-daulah) were to leave 'Iraq in such a situation, in all probability the whole empire would fall into disorder which it would be impossible to adjust. He was therefore to solicit reinforcements from Rukn al-daulah, and to beg that he would refrain from supporting a man whose restoration to power would involve

ruin to his own realm and the realm of Rukn al-daulah and 'Adud al-daulah as well.

'Adud al-daulah said further to Abu'l-Fath: Take notice, and if he realizes the facts, and these words or the like are effective with him, then confine yourself to them; but if he persists in his opinion, then add the following message from me: *I am prepared to take the territories of 'Iraq as a fief from you, and pay you thirty million dirhems for them*¹; you are indigent, and you have neither money nor supplies against the recurrence of a similar situation. I am prepared to transmit ten million dirhems out of this amount without delay. I will also send Bakhtiyar and his brothers to you, and you can give them their choice. If they like, let them remain in the middle of your dominions, and you will put them in possession of whatever places they choose. If they prefer to come to Fars, and select out of its territories any places that they like, I will assent thereto, furnish them with ample means, and see to their comfort in the middle of my realm. Why should you let him remain in a region whose inhabitants regard him as a weakling, and in which his conduct is known to the army, who also know that the Caliphate will release itself from his grasp and ours? The man has not the ability to manage an army, and for finance relies on executions, fines, and the appointment to office of some one able for the moment to raise a sum insufficient for his needs whom he is then compelled to overthrow (349), to rely on some one else. And indeed even this door is closed, and his previous operations have left him no further chance. He recognizes this himself, and hence has abdicated.

If however you would prefer to come to 'Iraq yourself, to undertake the government, to direct the Caliphate and the seat of empire, and will set about this business, sending Bakhtiyar off to Rayy, while I return to Fars, that too would be sound policy.

¹ Doubtless annually. The sum seems ridiculously low.

He added : You (Ibn al-'Amid) must dilate on this theme, which you will find an extensive one. If he softens, and recognizes the soundness of what you adduce, well and good ; otherwise add a third paragraph to your communication, and do not flinch from putting it before him. It is this : *My lord and parent, I am bound to accept your words, views and decisions. Only it is impossible for me to release these people after I have made this open manifestation of hostility to them and put them under arrest. They will never be reconciled to me, never be friendly or well-disposed. They will fight me to the utmost of their power. Discord and division will beset our house to all time. If you decline to accept any one of the alternatives which I have enumerated for your selection, and decide that I am simply and solely to go home, then I will decapitate these three brothers (Bakhtiyar and his two brothers) and arrest all of Bakhtiyar's party whom I suspect. I will then depart leaving 'Iraq in a state of chaos to be governed by him to whom chance assigns it.*

Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid said to him : These are momentous proposals, with which I cannot confront Rukn al-daulah, being his representative and the controller of his affairs ; for I know how faithfully, persistently and energetically he supports strangers when he takes up their cause, and how much more will he do this in the case of his brother's sons ! The right course is that I should be preceded by some messenger from you who will pour all this into his ear, whom I shall presently follow to support, supplement and advise.— This plan was adopted ; _____ was sent to represent 'Adud al-daulah and ABU'L-'ABBAS IBN BUNDAR to represent Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid. The latter (350) had long enjoyed the favour of Rukn al-daulah.

The messengers departed, followed by Ibn al-'Amid, whose party were mounted on a hundred of the swiftest camels. When the two first envoys appeared before Rukn al-daulah and commenced to deliver their message,

the latter, so soon as he understood its purport, did not permit them to come to the end. Springing at a lance which was close to his chair, he seized and brandished it, and the two envoys fled from his presence at their best speed.

When his wrath had cooled he called for them and said : Say to the ————— (he meant 'Adud al-daulah, but did not call him by his proper name) : Was your expedition for the purpose of helping my nephew or for the purpose of appropriating his realm ? Many a time did I go to the help of *Hasan b. Fairuzan* a stranger to me, and on all those occasions I went away from my dominions, risked my life fighting against *Washmagir* and the ruler of *Khorasan*, and when I had won the victory and conquered the territory, handed it over to *Hasan b. Fairuzan*, and returned home, without accepting from him reimbursement to the value of one dirhem or more,¹ all in the quest of fair fame and in the maintenance of chivalry. Are you going to claim gratitude from me for a couple of dirhems which you have expended upon me and my nephews, and appropriate their dominions as well ?—These envoys left his presence unable to call their souls their own, so alarmed were they at the irritation and rage which he had displayed in their sight.

Ibn al-'Amid now arrived in *Rayy*, the favourite vizier, the all-powerful minister. He supposed that his situation was what it had previously been, but he was denied an audience at the government house, and sent away in disgrace. The following message was then sent to him : You went forth from here to assist *Bakhtiyar*, and direct our army and that of *Fannakhusrah* until the affairs of my nephews were put in order. And do you now come to me in this disgraceful style, as a

¹ The case of *Ibrahim b. Marzuban*, above, ii. 229, might seem more appropriate, but here *Rukn al-daulah* did not take the field himself.

bearer of Fannakhusrah's rapacious messages, of his ousting my brother and his children, and wanting my licence to arrest and expropriate them, and threatening me with revolt? As for you, I quite see that you have chosen him in preference to me, and that you are aspiring to the vizierate of 'Iraq and the delights of the Tigris. Go back (351) to him as you are, or by Heaven, I will impale your mother and your wife on the door of your dwelling, and exterminate your tribe and all connected with you from the face of the earth, and leave you with that ————— (meaning his son) to do your utmost. And presently I shall come out against you myself accompanied with three hundred fast camels and their riders only, and resist me if you will!—Rukn al-daulah then swore solemnly that when he had got only part of the way on his expedition against them, not a man would remain with them. Every one, he declared, will welcome me and join me, and by you and 'Adud al-daulah only your most intimate friends, your most confidential slaves, will abide. And now, though you are in my power, I permit you to return to your place and deliver my reply-message, and see whether my promises and threats come true. He continued in this style, to the same effect, though his language was coarser and more copious than is reproduced in this summary.

Prior to this, when Rukn al-daulah heard how his nephews had been put under arrest, he had thrown himself from his seat, rolled on the ground, and foamed at the mouth. For days he would neither eat nor drink, and thereby brought on an illness from which he was never free for the rest of his life. He declared that he saw his brother Mu'izz al-daulah standing before him, biting his finger-tips and saying: *My brother, is this the way wherein you promised to replace me with my wife and children?* Rukn al-daulah had deep affection for this

brother, whom he regarded as a son, having brought him up and made of him what he became.¹

Certain persons now interceded for Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid, declaring that he had not come for the purpose which Rukn al-daulah supposed, but that his bearing 'Adud al-daulah's message had been a device for getting away from the latter. His object, they said, was to get in contact with you so as to arrange matters in accordance with your views. He offers a guarantee, of which he is prepared to take the consequences, that he will settle matters to your satisfaction, if you will give him an audience and empower him to act in accordance with your wishes. Rukn al-daulah then gave him an audience, and a long conversation followed, of which the conclusion was that he was to go back, release Bakhtiyar and his brothers, and establish them in the sovereignty; the armies of (352) Rayy and Fars were then each to return to its base in decorous style so far as the circumstances permitted.

Rukn al-daulah now gave Abu'l-Fath leave to depart, and he returned to 'Adud al-daulah with a very different mission from that whereon he had started. In a private interview with 'Adud al-daulah he explained the facts of the case, and that he could not hope for any compromise from Rukn al-daulah's side. When 'Adud al-daulah saw that his schemes had given way on all sides, that the supplies which he had brought with him were exhausted and none coming in from his dominions, he was compelled to proceed to Fars and to release Bakhtiyar and his brothers. He did this; Ibn al-'Amid acted as mediator between him and Bakhtiyar, and the last came out of 'Adud al-daulah's house, after a robe of honour had been bestowed upon him, he had kissed 'Adud al-daulah's carpet, and accepted the stipulation that he should rank as 'Adud al-daulah's deputy in this province, and have the latter's name mentioned in the

¹ This seems rather true of 'Imad al-daulah,

khutbah. He also bestowed a robe upon Abu Ishaq son of Mu'izz al-daulah as the future commander of the army, who were convinced of Bakhtiyar's incompetence, and mismanagement of their affairs, and from whose hearts respect for him had time after time been driven out. As soon as they had left 'Adud al-daulah's dwelling, and reached their own in his barge, they threw off their allegiance without waiting an hour. Bakhtiyar was joined by his army, the populace, and the bandits, who rioted, shouted and clamoured.

'Adud al-daulah had guarded their treasures and all the horses and household goods which they possessed; nothing was wanting, so that they got them back in the state wherein they had left them. 'Adud al-daulah left Baghdad on Friday 5 Shawwal, 364 (June 18, 975) for his realm of Fars, having instructed Ibn al-'Amid to follow in his track and not stay behind him in Baghdad more than three days.

Account of the injury done by Ibn al-'Amid to himself, and the capriciousness and frivolity which led to his ruin.

When 'Adud al-daulah had departed for Fars, Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid found Baghdad agreeable; (353) he liked the dissipation and entering with Bakhtiyar into his various sports and diversions. He got some relaxation from business, and a respite from attending to the affairs of his master Rukn al-daulah. He acquired *zabzabs*, houses on the riverbank, and skilful singing girls, and got opportunities of enjoyment. Bakhtiyar recognised the service which he had rendered him in rescuing him from the lion's claws after he had become his prey, and how it was his intervention between Rukn al-daulah and his son which had restored to Bakhtiyar his life and throne. Bakhtiyar therefore set him at his ease, and offered him his vizierate with full power over

his territories and a promise that he should not be thwarted in any of his arrangements or plans. Abu'l-Fath did not accept this offer, saying that he had a mother, a wife, children, and a fortune which had been accumulating for fifty years, all of which were in the power of Rukn al-daulah. He could not therefore quit Rukn al-daulah, neither would it sound well that people should say he had disobeyed that prince; nor, he added, is it possible for you to take this step after the kindness with which he has treated you. However I will make you this promise: when God shall execute on Rukn al-daulah what He executes on all His creatures, I will come over to you with a large portion of his army; for they will not disobey me. Rukn al-daulah moreover is "a ghost of to-day or to-morrow"¹ and cannot last long.

This then was arranged between them secretly, no one being privy to the matter except MOHAMMED B. 'UMAR 'ALAWI, who acted as intermediary and took their promises to each other. It was not revealed to any one till Mohammed b. (354) 'Umar informed me of it after the ruin of Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid. The gross blunder committed by Abu'l-Fath was that he prolonged his stay in Baghdad, greedily acquiring property, procuring fiefs and amassing stocks there with the view to his eventual return. Further he solicited from the Sultan a title, robes of honour and treatment different from those which he had enjoyed when 'Adud al-daulah quitted him. He also appointed to represent him in Baghdad the son of a cultivator named ABU'L-HUSAIN IBN ABI SHUJA' ARRAJANI, without such previous experience of and association with the man as would have revealed his character. After the departure of Abu'l-Fath all the secrets between him and Bakhtiyar and the translation of their letters were conducted through him and by his mediation. He transmitted everything to

¹ Proverbial phrase for a man whose death may be expected at any time.

'Adud al-daulah as a means of gaining his favour. When 'Adud al-daulah learned the facts of the case, of Abu'l-Fath's opposition to himself and private arrangement with Bakhtiyar, of the Sultanic title which he had procured (DHU'L-KIFAYATAIN "the doubly competent") and of the robes which he had put on and wherein he had ridden in Baghdad with Ibn Baqiyyah, he understood that Abu'l-Fath had become his open enemy. He concealed this conviction in his mind till he had got Abu'l-Fath into his power, when he destroyed him, as we hope to record in its place.

Account of what happened to Ibn Baqiyyah.

Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah, being afraid of Bakhtiyar, who, he knew, distrusted him, remained in Wasit. Correspondence and messages passed between them through Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi and Abu Nasr Ibn al-Sarraj.¹ Each swore an oath to the other, and then Ibn Baqiyyah came North, and claimed credit with Bakhtiyar on the ground that he had rebelled against 'Adud al-daulah for Bakhtiyar's sake and in his interest. Bakhtiyar accepted this account of the matter, and increased his honours. Friendship and alliance were renewed also between Ibn Baqiyyah and Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid.

In this year the title FAKHR AL-DAULAH (Pride of the Empire) was conferred on Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali son of Rukn al-daulah; that of I'ZAZ AL-DAULAH (Fortification of the Empire) on Marzuban b. Bakhtiyar; and that of MU'IN AL-DAULAH (Helper of the Empire) on 'Imran b. Shahin. (355) Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah in addition to his former title received that of NASIR AL-DAULAH (Aider of the Empire). Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid was dubbed DHU'L-KIFAYATAIN. Robes of honour were bestowed on such of these as were present by the Caliph and forwarded to those who were absent.

¹ See above, ii., 310-313.

Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah made it his object to strengthen the distrust and ill-feeling between Bakhtiyar and his cousin 'Adud al-daulah, and tried hard to curry favour and ingratiate himself, using loud and insolent language, and expressing himself in a style which left no hope of compromise. Rioting recommenced among the lower classes, and the system inaugurated by 'Adud al-daulah of suppressing the banditti fell into abeyance. Ibn Baqiyyah got hold of IBN ABI 'AQIL, who, having been appointed prefect of police by Sabuktakin, had executed certain of the Shi'ah. Ibn Baqiyyah ordered him to be executed, and this was done in the midst of Karkh amid the mob. The ferocity of the banditti increased, there was a recrudescence of trouble, and the traders began to be afraid for their lives and goods. Ibn Baqiyyah took to ministering to the Caliph Ta'i' and acting as his counsellor ; he arranged a matrimonial alliance between him and Bakhtiyar.¹

Bakhtiyar renewed his intention of going to Kufah, ostensibly in order to visit the *martyrium* (of 'Ali), but secretly meaning to hunt. He went thither accordingly accompanied by Husain b. Musa the Registrar, and Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi. Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah remained in Baghdad ; he had become estranged from Mohammed b. 'Umar, and had arrested him with the intention of ruining him, only Bakhtiyar had not permitted this, nor left him in Ibn Baqiyyah's power more than one hour of the day, after which he had released him. When Bakhtiyar entered Kufah he was the guest of Mohammed b. 'Umar, who ministered to him (356) and paid him every attention. Private meetings and conversations took place between the two. Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah heard of this and was told besides : *He has been slandering you and advising Bakhtiyar to arrest you.* Ibn Baqiyyah took alarm, and made ready

¹ The Caliph married his daughter Shahnaz,

to proceed to Wasit with the intention of defying and resisting. He was supported therein by some of the army. Bakhtiyar's mother endeavoured to put things right, and Bakhtiyar, being informed by letter of the situation, quickly turned his face in the direction of Baghdad, sending on *Husain b. Musa Musawi* in front with letters and messages calculated to retrieve the situation, and denying all that Ibn Baqiyyah had heard about Bakhtiyar. *Husain b. Musa* obtained an oath from each of the parties of loyalty and goodwill to the other, and Ibn Baqiyyah then went out to meet Bakhtiyar, having returned to his allegiance.

News now reached Ibn Baqiyyah and Bakhtiyar that 'Adud al-daulah harboured the project of returning to 'Iraq. Ibn Baqiyyah proceeded to Wasit to collect money and get ready food and supplies. He used coarse and violent language, forbade certain *shadha'ahs* that were there to pass, and made an agreement with 'Imran to prevent their passing. He practised other forms of savagery besides, in accordance with the miserable fate that was prepared for him, which brought him to a most disgraceful end, perishing under various forms of torture and mutilation, as we shall record in the proper place. A fresh quarrel broke out between him and Bakhtiyar after his return to Baghdad, and circumstances necessitated the arrest of *Sahl b. Bishr* the Christian, revenue farmer of Ahwaz, and his experiencing a reverse of fortune which ended with his death.

Account of the reason for this.

Ibn Baqiyyah placed no confidence in Bakhtiyar's loyalty weathering a storm, was ceaselessly on his guard against him, and setting spies upon him, being most distrustful of him when he swore and offered pledges. He devoted himself to conciliating the army, bestowing on them a succession of robes and gifts, setting up tables, and organizing (357) banquets ; and gave orders that the public money should be paid into his treasuries. He

made an arrangement with Bakhtiyar whereby he was to provide the latter with a fixed income, and became something like a tutor¹ to him; if Bakhtiyar wanted more, Ibn Baqiyyah would incite the army to demand money of him, and refer them to Bakhtiyar. Bakhtiyar found him unendurable, and consulted a number of his staff and chief officers for some means of circumventing him, which would enable Bakhtiyar to ruin him, and appoint as his secretary Sahl b. Bishr, who was at that time in his province, Ahwaz. Bakhtiyar despatched to him a number of his chief officers, including *HASAN B. AHMAD B. BAKHTIYAR*, *HASAN B. FILSAR*, *TAKIDAR* the Jilite, etc., as bearers of a message inviting him to compass the ruin of Ibn Baqiyyah. When these officers appeared before him with Bakhtiyar's letters and credentials, it was decided that the troops who were in Baghdad should be seduced from their loyalty to Ibn Baqiyyah, whilst Sahl with the troops in Ahwaz should mutiny and declare their dissatisfaction with him.

By the time the news of this arrangement reached Baghdad Bakhtiyar had lost nerve for the execution of the plan, whereas Ibn Baqiyyah had won the army over and was master of the situation. He then made no secret of his sentiments. He rebuked and upbraided Bakhtiyar, reminding him of the oaths which he constantly took and as constantly violated, and made a show of indignation and disgust. Bakhtiyar was as wax in his hands, and denied that his treatment by the people in Ahwaz was with his (Bakhtiyar's) knowledge or by his order.—In that case, said Ibn Baqiyyah, give me a free hand with them!—Bakhtiyar assented, and authorized whatever procedure he adopted with them. Ibn Baqiyyah compelled him to arrest Sahl b. Bishr, and surrender him to himself; and to banish the officers who had made such revelations. Bakhtiyar did so. He despatched *IBRAHIM B. ISMA'IL* the chamberlain to

¹ In the Roman sense of the word.

Ahwaz with instructions to compass the arrest of Sahl b. Bishr, who was then to be immediately conveyed to the capital. The chamberlain went off at once, and arriving in Ahwaz induced Sahl b. Bishr to present himself in the residence of one of the officers, where he arrested him, explained to him the collapse of the whole scheme wherein he was engaged, carried him off at once and delivered him to Ibn Baqiyyah. Hasan b. Filsar had got off in good time to Baghdad where he placated Ibn Baqiyyah; Hasan b. Ahmad b. Bakhtiyar and Takidar were summoned to Baghdad, and when (358) they were in the vicinity received their sentence of dismissal from the army and banishment. The former returned to his own country, the latter joined 'Adud al-daulah. Sahl b. Bishr was importuned for money by Ibn Baqiyyah, who lavished tortures upon him, and extorted from him all that he could. Finally both Sahl and a number of persons whom we shall mention died under the tortures which Ibn Baqiyyah inflicted.

After the arrest of Sahl b. Bishr Bakhtiyar appointed his brother Abu Ishaq to the government of Ahwaz and its dependencies, and despatched him thither with a portion of the army. This was through the influence of Ibn Baqiyyah who had solicited and obtained the help of Abu Ishaq and his mother against Bakhtiyar; having thereby obtained what he wanted he showed his gratitude by this appointment.

Ibn Baqiyyah now proceeded to arrest his associate Abu Nasr Sarraj, and torture him to death.

Account of the reason for this.

Ibn Baqiyyah was attacked by an illness brought on by heat; he was bled for it the next day, and by evening was delirious, with his mind clouded,¹ bellowing like a bull, unable to swallow food or drink, neither

¹ This appears to be the sense.

hearing what was said to him nor able to reply. His mouth foamed, his features were distorted, his breath rose,¹ and he had a severe fit of gasping ; all the accompaniments of death, which leave no hope, were united. Abu Nasr Ibn al-Sarraj had previously been in possession of a fortune, which was augmented considerably in Ibn Baqiyyah's time by engaging in improper enterprises, and various forms of ill-doing and delation. Thus he had made numerous enemies. Now Ibn Baqiyyah had made a favourite of one *HASAN B. BISHR RA'I* (the Shepherd), originally a Christian from Ras 'Ain, who had entered the service of the *Hamdanids* in Mausil, and gone over to Islam owing to his apprehension in consequence of some act that he had perpetrated, and in consequence of a second apprehension had fled to Baghdad, had there attached himself to Ibn Baqiyyah, won his favour, been advanced and promoted by him till he was appointed governor of Wasit, presently been summoned by him to Baghdad and made his deputy. Rivalry and mutual animosity had arisen between him and Abu Nasr Ibn al-Sarraj (359) ; when Ibn Baqiyyah's life was despaired of *Hasan b. Bishr* went into hiding, whereas Abu Nasr Ibn al-Sarraj hurried to Bakhtiyar, undertook to exact vast sums from Ibn Baqiyyah's dependents, and made out a list of his relations, associates, clerks and other dependents. Bakhtiyar started to visit Ibn Baqiyyah and see him in his illness.

Account of a remarkable coincidence ; the recovery of Ibn Baqiyyah and his escape from arrest by Bakhtiyar.

Bakhtiyar was deeply affected by his illness, notwithstanding his former endeavour to ruin Ibn Baqiyyah, and his vexation at Ibn Baqiyyah's monopoly of control over the finance and the army. When Ibn al-Sarraj advised Bakhtiyar to arrest the whole party before they could go into hiding, Bakhtiyar hesitated,

¹ This probably means " was near issuing for good."

and the earnest insistence of Ibn al-Sarraġ did not effect anything. The family and dependents of Ibn Baqiyyah became aware of what Ibn al-Sarraġ was doing and were on their guard against him. On the fourth day of his illness Ibn Baqiyyah began to pull himself together. During the anxious period Bakhtiyar had visited him twice each day. The convulsions ceased, and there was a faint hope of his recovery, which increased, till presently he became conscious, though speechless ; after a few days he rose and returned gradually to his pursuits. His associate *Hasan b. Bishr* now emerged, and the intimate dependents of Ibn Baqiyyah gathered and informed him of the doings of Ibn al-Sarraġ. *Hasan b. Bishr* guaranteed to exact from the last 100,000 dinars, so Ibn Baqiyyah had him arrested, and there was realized out of his cash, his deposits, the price of his produce, and what was taken from his dependents more than *Hasan b. Bishr* had promised. Various forms of torture and punishment were then inflicted on him ; he was shut up in a box and denied food till he died a horrible death.

In this year Kirman revolted against 'Adud al-daulah.

Account of the reason for this.

In the districts of Kirman there were a number of the JURUMIYYAH¹ infantry, men of great courage, (360) and firm in their loyalty. One of their chiefs, named TAHIR B. AL-SIMMAH, a man of wealth and commercial connexions, had undertaken the farming of certain revenues and purchased certain produce, in consequence whereof he owed moneys of which he wished to evade payment. 'Adud al-daulah had gone off to 'Iraq to deal his blow at the Turks, and his vizier ABU'L-QASIM MUTAHHAR B. 'ABDALLAH had gone off to Oman ; so there were only a few troops remaining in Fars. Tahir b. al-Simmah therefore threw off his allegiance. He gathered these infantry round him in complete armour,

¹ These do not seem to be mentioned by the geographers.

and increasing numbers. It so happened that there was in one of the districts of Khorasan an eminent chieftain of the Samani Turks¹ named YUZTUMURR, a man of majestic appearance and gigantic build, renowned for courage and strength, who had a grievance against Ibrahim b. Simjur, commander of the army of Khorasan. Tahir b. al-Simmah wrote to this person, offering him the provinces of Kirman. The Turkish chieftain joined him, and they made common cause in their conquest, only the title *prince* was assigned to Yuztumurr. After a time the Jurumiyyah infantry mutinied, and Tahir was suspected of inciting them; this caused mischief between the two, which grew till there was a battle between them wherein Yuztumurr took the other prisoner, and killed many of his men. The news of this affair reached one of the Alyas family, HUSAIN B. MOHAMMED B. ALYAS, in one of the regions of Khorasan, and he aspired to reconquer Kirman. Collecting a force he proceeded thither and was joined by these Jurumiyyah troops and various similar scoundrels of all sorts.

By this time Mutahhar had accomplished his purpose in Oman, having conquered the mountains, dealt the heretics some severe blows, and got back to Arrajan meaning to proceed to the court of 'Adud al-daulah in 'Iraq. Here orders reached him to proceed to Kirman to put this trouble right. He returned to Shiraz, and started thence again on —9 Rajab of the year 364 (April 7, 975). He carried out his enterprise in the style of a raid, never swerving aside, crushing all the suspects whom he found on his route, killing, impaling, blinding, and mutilating (361) in every way. In order to inspire respect for authority he was excessively cruel, and advanced at such a pace that he swooped down on Yuztumurr, who only learned of his expedition at the time of his actual arrival. He came out to meet Mutah-

¹ *i.e.*, Turks in the employ of the Samanid princes.

har and engaged him, but was forced to flee to the town (Bamm), where he entrenched himself in the strong central citadel. Here he was besieged by Mutahhar till he surrendered, and produced with himself his prisoner Tahir b. al-Simmah, whom Mutahhar took over, and then ordered to be paraded about, while his story was proclaimed by a crier, after which he was executed with a number of persons who had done as he. Yuztumurr was sent to a fortress where he was imprisoned, and no more heard of him.

Mutahhar now went in pursuit of Husain b. Mohammed b. Alyas, who had collected 10,000 men fully armed and prepared for battle. When Mutahhar came in sight of them, he was alarmed by their numbers; unable however to avoid an engagement he disposed his troops for the purpose at the gate of Jirift. They charged, but his troops remained steadfast, and presently his right charged effectively, driving them to the wall of the city, in disorder. His army then discharged a volley of arrows upon them, and they finding no means of escape were killed to a man. Husain fled, but search was made for him and he was captured and brought in. He was not again heard of and Kirman was "purified"¹ from him.

YEAR 365.

We have mentioned the illness of Rukn al-daulah and its cause, and how 'Adud al-daulah retired from Baghdad in the condition which we have described, and his resentment at his father's conduct in defying him and taking the side of his nephews; he saw his enemies emboldened against him and the respect for him impaired in the minds of his friends, and thought it likely that Rukn al-daulah might die while these were the relations between them, and his empire be broken up, without his ('Adud al-daulah's) being able to

¹ Allusion to Mutahhar's name (purified).

incorporate what he wanted with his own. He therefore sent a message to Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid (having ceased corresponding with his father owing to the resentment and the grievances which he harboured), requesting him to intercede so as to restore their former relations. (326) He also subtly insinuated that there might be a meeting between them wherein Rukn al-daulah could declare him ('Adud al-daulah) successor and cause this to be proclaimed throughout his dominions and among the chiefs of the Dailemites and of the army. Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid had great influence with Rukn al-daulah, and with the army too; he was anxious to soothe the feelings of 'Adud al-daulah in reference to his former dealings, but at the same time placed no confidence in 'Adud al-daulah, and was afraid of some ebullition on his part or of some plot. He approached Rukn al-daulah, telling him how he feared the resentment of 'Adud al-daulah might lead to discord and trouble between the members of his family, and warned him against permitting this state of things to continue and obtain control over their minds and dispositions. Abu'l-Fath kept on pleading till Rukn al-daulah gave way and admitted that the prosperity of his children, his dominions and his nephews' dominions was bound up with the policy which he recommended. Ibn al-'Amid proceeded to suggest that leave should be granted to 'Adud al-daulah to pay him a visit so that he might meet and see his father, whom he had quitted when a lad; that the army might see him at his father's court; the idea that they were estranged which had been oppressing people's minds and his own would be dissipated; and he might appoint 'Adud al-daulah his successor, as the eldest and most distinguished of his sons, whose realm was widest and resources greatest in wealth, munitions and men. Rukn al-daulah replied that the plan was sound, only he had not in his stores sufficient for the demands of 'Adud al-daulah and the cavalry, the officers and the

retainers who would accompany him ; and that if he failed to gratify them all by the provision of hospitality, the organization of banquets, and the bestowal of robes of honour, mounts and gifts, he would incur reproach and disgrace.—Abu'l-Fath said : Then in that case do you pay *him* a visit and inspect once more those dominions which you have not seen for so long, and review the troops which you have stationed there recently and of old. 'Adud al-daulah will then incur for you, your army and your whole court the expense which you are afraid of incurring for them ; and you will dictate the policy with regard to the mutual relations of your children and their kingdoms which you must dictate.—Rukn al-daulah replied : It would be a most discreditable story to circulate among the provincial monarchs and among posterity that a certain king, having displeased his son in a matter wherein he thought proper to displease him and give him a lesson, afterwards paid him a visit to solicit his pardon!

(363) All these points were communicated to 'Adud al-daulah, who wrote back : *There is a third course which is free from all the objections which he finds. It is that the meeting should take place in Ispahan. It is within his territory ; I can start from Fars to pay him homage and visit him in his sickness. It will then be incumbent on me to bestow attentions on his dependents and staff, whereas he will incur no expenditure on me or any member of my escort ; neither can it be said that he came to see me.*—This procedure was adopted, and Abu'l-Fath devoted his energies to bring it into execution. Rukn al-daulah weak and ill as he was, roused himself to journey to Ispahan, and summoned the Prince Fakhr al-daulah (his son 'Ali) to attend ; Mu'ayyid al-daulah (his son Buwaihi) was in residence in Ispahan as governor. 'Adud al-daulah presented himself, and Rukn al-daulah came out to meet him ; when the former approached the city, Rukn al-daulah stood on some rising ground

until 'Adud al-daulah dismounted before him, repeatedly kissed the ground, and was then invited to kiss his hand. The officers, princes and grandees of the court successively kissed the ground and humbled themselves before him.

Rukn al-daulah after witnessing a scene such as might well delight a father's heart proceeded to his quarters, and each member of the party took up his abode in those which had been assigned him. 'Adud al-daulah was quartered with his father in the government house in the new wing built by Mu'ayyid al-daulah. Then Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid gave a banquet at which Rukn al-daulah with all his children was present, and which was attended by the chief governors, officers and courtiers. Rukn al-daulah in a harangue addressed to them declared 'Adud al-daulah his successor and deputy over his dominions, whereas Mu'ayyid al-daulah and Fakhr al-daulah were to be the latter's deputies over the territories wherein he had established them. It cost Abu'l-Fath a vast sum, and he transmitted besides to Rukn al-daulah, the princes his sons, his officers and courtiers suitable gifts. Among the robes bestowed by him on the Dailemite staff and persons of similar rank were a thousand *qabas* and a thousand mantles.

The guests departed, and the sovereignty had been settled upon 'Adud al-daulah (364) among Rukn al-daulah's children; both Mu'ayyid al-daulah and Fakhr al-daulah acknowledged his claim to it, and did him homage with sweet-smelling herbs after their custom.¹ Homage was then paid by each of the governors and officers present, and a deed drawn up which was read out and to which they affixed their signatures.

Bakhtiyar was exceedingly anxious and alarmed in consequence of his and his army's former defiance of 'Adud al-daulah,² and desired to set matters right with him. He wrote letter after letter to Rukn al-daulah,

¹ Above, ii. 42.

² Above, ii. 352.

begging him to protect him from the issue which he feared. He despatched to Rukn al-daulah his writer 'Isa b. al-Fadl, and his arrival tallied with the great gathering in Ispahan which we have been describing. Rukn al-daulah spoke on this subject, and 'Adud al-daulah professed his readiness at the time to overlook what had occurred, but stipulated that in the future Bakhtiyar must abstain from giving him annoyance and must not repeat the words and actions which he condemned. Bakhtiyar was somewhat reassured by this, but Ibn Baqiyyah retained his suspicion and apprehension, and urged Bakhtiyar to write to Sahlan b. Musafir, the chief man in Fakhr al-daulah's army, and Hasana-waihi b. Husain Barzikani,¹ who was in the neighbourhood of his province and related to him by marriage. Ibn Baqiyyah also urged Bakhtiyar to conciliate Fakhr al-daulah and induce him to join in hostility to 'Adud al-daulah. Messages were interchanged and covenants ratified between these parties, and they all prepared to help, and agreed to assist and support each other in the event of trouble overtaking any. There was a meeting of their secretaries at which an agreement was made on various notable matters, of which one that came to light was the investiture of Fakhr al-daulah and Sahlan b. Musafir with the territories in their control as governors appointed by the Sultan.² Deeds to this effect were drawn up and Sahlan received the title 'ISMAT AL-DAULAH (Protection of the Empire) and was called by his *kunyah*.³ Robes of honour were sent out to both

¹ *i.e.* of the Barzikan Kurds, "the most disorderly mob in the world" (Abu Shuja', p. 287). Both these worthies have been mentioned in what has preceded, ii. 270.

² *i.e.*, from the Caliph and not as deputies of 'Adud al-daulah, as previously arranged.

³ The letter addressed to Sahlan is in Ibrahim Sabi's collection, p. 178. Careful instructions are given to the addressee to write to the Caliph using his name and his new title, but to others using his title and his *kunyah*. It is dated Monday 14 Jumada i, 366,

these quarters, and a promise of the like was made to *Hasanawaihi*, should he move.

When these robes reached them, they did not venture to don them, as they hesitated to proclaim their hostility to 'Adud al-daulah; so the robes remained (365) with their bringers neglected and unworn, neither did Sahlan venture to assume his title or employ his *kunyah*. The affair became mere mockery and insult. ¹

Bakhtiyar attached himself to 'Uddat al-daulah Abu Taghlib the *Hamdanid* and Mu'in al-daulah 'Imran b. Shahin, and removed the name of 'Adud al-daulah from the *khutbah* on the pulpits of Baghdad. He declared that he was himself to be sovereign after Rukn al-daulah. Ibn Baqiyyah proposed that he should take a second title in addition to his first, and that a letter should be issued in the name of the Caliph more definitely breaking with 'Adud al-daulah and revealing Bakhtiyar's intentions. This letter was published from the pulpits,² and people were allowed to express themselves coarsely; ³ Bakhtiyar's honours were increased and he was given in 'Iraq and the neighbouring territories the rank which Rukn al-daulah had held. He asserted that he meant to demand recognition of that rank from Adud al-daulah and humbler potentates. Ibn Baqiyyah followed him in the assumption of honours, and found people in the army foolish enough to support him, ready enough to accept the good things which they could get from him or consume on his premises, while secretly repudiating him and betraying him. His idea was that

¹ In the Caliph's letter he is instructed to display all his honours.

² The letter is in Ibrahim Sabi's collection, p. 216. It alludes to a fresh title to be given to Bakhtiyar, but does not state what it is to be. It gives rules for the mode wherein letters to him are to be begun. He is also given the right in association with the Caliph of appointing viziers and governors (doubtless with reference to some formality in the patents, as the Emir from the first appointed these officials). The letter contains the bestowal of some special honours on Ibn Baqiyyah also.

³ Doubtless on the subject of 'Adud al-daulah,

if his schemes proved successful, he would be the gainer ; whereas if they met with a reverse, Bakhtiyar would be the person ruined, whereas he would himself escape. His idea was fallacious ; for a person who adopts his course cannot escape ; there is certain to be a pit into which he will fall and which will cause his ruin.

YEAR 366.

In this year 'Adud al-daulah moved in the direction of 'Iraq, starting from Fars. Ibn Baqiyyah and Bakhtiyar wrote earnestly to the persons who have been named. *Hasanawaihi* b. *Husain* the Kurd was particularly deceitful to Bakhtiyar, to whom he held out hopes that he was coming to his aid personally, with his family and the Kurds who obeyed him, whereas his real desire was to sow discord and produce division (366), inasmuch as disorder in the affairs of these sovereigns meant order in his own.

Bakhtiyar and Ibn Baqiyyah started on Monday 1 Jumada i (Jan. 23, 977) intending to visit the shrine of 'Ali, hunt, and then turn back to Wasit on their way to Ahwaz, where they intended to commence their campaign. They reached Wasit the last day of Jumada ii (Feb. 22, 977). Several marriages took place there between their families and that of 'Imran b. Shahin. Bakhtiyar married 'Imran's daughter,¹ and *Hasan* son of 'Imran married Bakhtiyar's daughter.

At this time Ibn al-Ra'i (*Hasan* b. *Bishr*) put to death by Ibn Baqiyyah's orders a number of persons suspected by the latter, among them IBN 'URWAH, sister's son to Abu Qurrah, a leading revenue-farmer, 'Ali b. Mohammed *Zutti*, prefect of police in Baghdad, Ibn al 'Uruqi, who held the same office in Wasit, and others of their rank. He also thought of putting to death Sa'id b. Thabit, whom he had arrested and ruined ; however he escaped execution.

¹ Apparently 'Imran had got over the scruples recorded above, ii. 330.

From Wasit messages were sent by Bakhtiyar and by Ibn Baqiyyah to the Caliph *Ta'i'*, requesting him to join them and proceed with them. He declined; letters continued to be interchanged on the subject until he was convinced that he was only asked to endure the fatigue in the interests of peace and concord, and then he travelled to Wasit and the whole party departed thence to Ahwaz. Correspondence was interchanged during this time between them and *Hasanawaihi*, who promised to join the expedition. Whilst they were negotiating news came that '*Adud al-daulah* had arrived in Arrajan with all his forces. There was much palpitation of hearts in consequence, and a letter was written in the Caliph's name summoning him to cease hostilities and make peace. The letter¹ was sent by one of Bakhtiyar's eunuchs masquerading as one of the Caliph's. To hope (367) for peace at this time was absurd. After discussions between Bakhtiyar and his followers it was decided that the battle should take place in Ahwaz; they were to entrench themselves with the canal called *Surab*, and fight behind it. So they came out and pitched their tents on the bank of the *Surab*, while *Abu-Ishaq* went with a detachment of the army to secure '*Askar Mukram*. The bridges over the *Masruqan* were guarded, and troops of Arabs, Kurds and others were despatched to *Ramhurmuz*, the reason being that the resident revenue-farmer, *HASAN B. YUSUF*, had deserted to '*Adud al-daulah*. When *Ta'i'* saw that war had broken out, he declined to remain, and started in the direction of *Baghdad*. Bakhtiyar and Ibn Baqiyyah tried their hardest to induce him to remain, but he refused, and turning off into the *Tigris* of *Basrah*, he sailed up it to *Baghdad* passing through the *Marsh* districts.

Intelligence presently arrived that '*Adud al-daulah* had advanced to *Ramhurmuz*, and that the army which had been despatched thither had been routed. This

¹ The letter is in the collection of *Ibrahim Sabi'*, p. 223.

discouraged the people, they abandoned their plan of keeping to the bank of the Surab, and retreated to the open spaces of Suq al-Ahwaz, after breaking the bridge of Arbaq. Orders were sent to Abu Ishaq Ibn Mu'izz al-daulah to come back from 'Askar Mukram, which he obeyed, so that the armies were reunited. Bakhtiyar was informed that SALAR B. BA'ABDALLAH SURKH with a number of his chief officers and others meant to desert, and disorganize his army. He was advised to arrest them, put them in fetters and send them off to Wasit; but he had not the courage to do this, fearing it might cause disorder in the rest of his army. He had not the courage to fight in Ahwaz either, and planned retreating to Wasit while his forces were unimpaired, and making Wasit the theatre of operations. Ibn Baqiyyah and all the officers resisted this scheme and compelled him to remain.

The army now demanded their pay, and his poverty could not be concealed. Ibn Baqiyyah started fining the people of the town, and Bakhtiyar had the gold and silver from the ornaments and the trappings broken off and coins (368) struck thence. The army became low-spirited, and Bakhtiyar constructed across the Dujail below the town a narrow and weak bridge and at a point where it would be of little help to a retreating host.

News came that 'Adud al-daulah was well prepared, with plenty of money, horses, arms, camels laden with provisions and machines, and a number of fighting elephants. He was confident that many of the Bakhtiyarites would desert to him, among them that Salar Surkh who has been mentioned. For indeed he was constantly sending them letters and presents. 'Adud al-daulah sent on in front ABU'L-WAFA TAHIR B. MOHAMMED B. IBRAHIM, to whom he had attached various officers, among them KARAWI AHWAZI with an army of Qufs infantry and others. Proceeding to

Basiyan they there collected vessels, in which they advanced to the district called Qashshan,¹ where they constructed a bridge, over which 'Adud al-daulah with his forces, who presently arrived, crossed. All this time the news of his proceedings were reaching Bakhtiyar and Ibn Baqiyyah, who had not the power to resist their crossing, and whose maintenance of their position was merely putting off the evil day. For a belligerent who cannot prevent part of an army from crossing and cannot fight on the ground which is favourable for the defensive cannot well hope to maintain himself against the whole army on open ground.

'Adud al-daulah hugged the canal, and took up his station on its bank, because the time was the beginning of July. He encamped at the distance of about a parasang from the enemy, and early on Sunday 11 Dhu'l-Qa'dah 366 (July 1, 977) he took the field admirably equipped, in perfect order and preparation and with every precaution taken. Against him Bakhtiyar arrayed a disorderly force, whose cavalry were placed in front of the infantry, a form of tactics employed by no-one,² and the faults of which are known to ordinary folk and indeed to chessplayers. Salar Surkh, Hasan b. Kharamadh, and Nibak b. Shirak, one of the mightiest of the (369) Dailemite champions, and a number of the staff deserted. DUBAIS B. 'AFIF, chief of the Asadite Bedouins who was on Bakhtiyar's left, also deserted. His army was routed, and pursued by the Arabs and Kurds, who pillaged, stripped, killed and captured. Many surrendered under the sword; the fugitives ran in the direction of the bridge which we have described, where owing to the crushing and jostling most were drowned. Bakhtiyar, his brother Abu Ishaq, and his vizier Ibn Baqiyyah escaped and crossed the Dujail,

¹ The name, for which there is a blank in the MSS., has been supplied from another chronicle.

² It was employed against Constantine at the battle of Turin with disastrous results. Lebeau-St. Martin, i. 101, and on many other occasions,

going different ways, so that they were ignorant of each other's fate till they met in *Matara*. Bakhtiyar had thrown away his armour and covered his face; he had several spear-wounds. His brother, Ibn Baqiyyah and a number of officers of high rank reached *Huwaizah* at midnight with some five hundred men. There they spent the night and were joined by enough to swell the number to a thousand, in a wretched state of disorder. The next evening they proceeded to *Nahr al-Amir*, and thence to *Matara*, where they joined Bakhtiyar. Ibn Baqiyyah had sent his friend Ibn al-Ra'i (*Hasan b. Bishr*) with his own treasure and that of Bakhtiyar and certain supplies that he had across to *Ma'muniyyah* opposite *Suq al-Ahwaz*. He committed the care thereof to certain *Asadites*, who plundered the whole.

'Imran b. Shahin despatched his son *Hasan*, his secretary, and his officers in a number of boats and river-craft to Bakhtiyar, and transmitted money and wearing apparel to him and Ibn Baqiyyah. Bakhtiyar's son *Marzuban* sent his father money and wearing apparel from *Ubullah*, whither he had gone, and the whole party proceeded to *Ubullah* after obtaining provisions and utensils in *Wasit*. Bakhtiyar and Ibn Baqiyyah found *Basrah* disturbed by strife between the factions of *Rabi'ah* and *Mudar*, of which the latter had entered the allegiance of 'Adud al-daulah owing to certain schemes which he had devised and proposals which he had advanced, whereas the former remained faithful to Bakhtiyar, not out of any attachment to him, but in order to spite their rivals. (370) This civil strife went on incessantly, accompanied by the firing of quarters and the plundering of stores. Ibn Baqiyyah entered the city with the view of allaying the strife, but only succeeded in making it burn more fiercely and ruinously. Certain of the settlements of the *Mudarites* were burned down, and he went away, leaving the mischief raging. The party were afraid 'Adud al-daulah might proceed to

Wasit and when he had got there flight would be impossible for them if they wanted it ; so they ascended the river and penetrated the Marshes, where they were received by 'Imran b. Shahin with his army and fleet, who kissed Bakhtiyar's hand ; Bakhtiyar, who maintained a proud attitude, was then led by 'Imran to the residence of his eldest son, and quartered there owing to the relationship between them, and because it was the finest house in the Marshes. Ibn Baqiyyah was quartered in 'Imran's own dwelling. They were his guests for three days, and people marvelled at the realization of 'Imran's forecast which we have recorded.¹ They then departed, Hasan b. 'Imran travelling with them to Wasit.

At this time Bakhtiyar's son Marzuban fled from Basrah to Wasit to join his father, taking with him all his property, household and dependents in a fleet of *shadha'ahs*, *zabzabs* and other craft.

Account of the reason for this.

Mudar gained the upper hand over Rabi'ah, and the latter tribe was discouraged by the rout of Bakhtiyar. Marzuban therefore was deserted and afraid of being captured. He therefore hurried off to Wasit while his forces were unimpaired. The people of Basrah thereupon wrote to 'Adud al-daulah requesting him to send some one to take the government of their city. He sent Abu'l-Wafa Tahir b. Mohammed, who entered the place.

When Bakhtiyar arrived in Wasit, he became estranged from Ibn Baqiyyah, finding fault with his counsel and regretting that he (371) had adopted it. I had planned, he said, to retire from Ahwaz before an engagement with a numerous army, in good order, and with tents, fleet and arms. I thought that if I could maintain myself in Wasit or Baghdad, and obtained the

¹ Above, ii. 330.

reinforcements which I expected from various quarters, even if I did not win a victory, the least which would be in my power would be to depart from this country with an army that had suffered neither loss nor defeat, when I might well have been able to make myself master of another. It was you who insisted on dragging me out of my fortune and my realm, and setting me at variance with my most distinguished relative.—Ibn Baqiyyah remained steadfast and said: Kings suffer disasters such as yours and worse, and pull themselves together. I undertake to bring your affairs into order again, and mean to risk my life in your defence, and the army will support us.

Many of the Dailemites and Turks now came back to Bakhtiyar, who sent for horses of his from Baghdad, obtained fresh arms, tents and pavilions, and was joined by such troops as had remained in Basrah and Baghdad, who were still fresh. He thus was again at the head of a mighty army. Letters came to him from *Hasanawaihi* b. *Husain* the Kurd, containing a second batch of deceptions, excuses for delay, and promises that he would send his sons to Bakhtiyar one after another, and would himself proceed to join him with all his troops. Fresh correspondence took place between Bakhtiyar and *Fakhr al-daulah* ('Ali b. *Rukn al-daulah*) and the *Hamdanid* *Abu Taghlib*. Ibn Baqiyyah went back to Wasit where he had a hoard whereon he drew, and returned to his practice of conciliating the army and lavishing robes of honour, in consequence whereof they sided with him against Bakhtiyar.

Account of a trouble which befell Bakhtiyar at this time and led him to abandon what remained of his realm.

Among the extraordinary things that happened to Bakhtiyar at this time was that a Turkish slave-boy of his was taken prisoner at the battle of Ahwaz. Towards this lad, whose name was *BAITAKIN*, he had not

previously displayed any attachment or affection ; but now he went mad over his loss, and could bear with fortitude all other losses save this. Unheard-of grief (372) seized him in consequence ; he would neither eat nor drink ; he could not rest or keep still ; he did nothing but groan and lament, and declined to receive any one, as he wished to weep undisturbed. He grew weary of the army and was nauseated by their presence ; he abandoned the public care, and declared that he felt the loss of this lad more than the loss of his kingdom, and deprivation of it and of his fortune. When his vizier, secretaries, officers or staff got access to him for some important business he interrupted them with complaints of what had befallen him and revelation of his sentiments. His whole time and that of his audience was, taken up with this (to his mind) so mighty matter, to the exclusion of all else ; and he refused to seat himself on a throne or repose on cushions, or the like. He rendered himself contemptible and lost all respect, but this did not trouble him.

The officers now gathered round Ibn Baqiyyah and said to him : Do you manage our affairs. We are with you and will obey you.—Ibn Baqiyyah, who for a time had concealed the contempt which he felt for Bakhtiyar's infatuation, at last openly expressed it, and decided to look after his own interests. Bakhtiyar on the other hand openly abandoned all sense of decency with regard to this lad, and went so far as to write to 'Adud al-daulah, while war was raging between them and 'Adud al-daulah was in quest of his life and his throne, to beg of him the restoration of the lad ; and wrote besides to a number of the courtiers who were about 'Adud al-daulah or in his employ to solicit their support of this request. By this proceeding he added to his disgrace among the troops and in the towns, and incurred the reproaches of persons near and remote. This did not bring him to his senses ; indeed he went further than ever, and

despatched Abu Ahmad Husain b. Musa Musawi as envoy to 'Adud al-daulah on this matter, offering as ransom for the lad two slave-girls in his possession who performed on the lute, and were unrivalled in skill and mastery, and for one of whom the Hamdanid Abu Taghlib had offered 100,000 dirhems, and been refused. Bakhtiyar added in his instructions: If there is any hitch about this ransom, go on bidding higher and higher, and have no scruple about offering anything to compass this end. I shall be quite satisfied to take the lad and go to the ends of the earth relinquishing to him all that I possess.

(373) The envoy departed and delivered his message. It was found that the lad had been mixed up with his comrades who had been captured on the day of the engagement, from whom he had not been distinguished as he was not noticeably their superior, and that the lot had been sent to Shiraz as a present to 'Adud al-daulah's son, the prince Abu'l-Fawaris. When the message was delivered and 'Adud al-daulah learned how overwhelmed Bakhtiyar was by this loss, he was amazed, and ordered the lad to be returned to his ('Adud al daulah's) court, which was done. He then sent Abu Ahmad Musawi back with a reply to the message which he had brought, attaching to him his secretary ABU SA'D BAHRAM B. ARDASHIR as his own envoy, informing him that his answer to Bakhtiyar's request was favourable, and advising him to urge Bakhtiyar to return to his allegiance. He gave his envoy besides certain other messages which he was instructed to deliver to Bakhtiyar without the knowledge of Ibn Baqiyyah and where neither he nor any one else was present.

When the envoys arrived, they carried out these instructions, concealing their errand from Ibn Baqiyyah, and delivering their message to Bakhtiyar in a private interview. Ibn Baqiyyah became exceedingly alarmed, suspecting that 'Adud al-daulah had demanded his own

arrest and surrender as a set-off for the lad, and that Bakhtiyar owing to his infatuation would consent. He was inclined to arrest both envoys, openly defy Bakhtiyar and revolt. His quarters were on the Western side of Wasit, he had with him the money, arms and outfits, and the hopes of the party were concentrated on him, whereas Bakhtiyar's quarters were on the Eastern side, and he had none of these things, being rationed and supplied by Ibn Baqiyyah like one who has no authority. Ibn Baqiyyah then was about to send Bakhtiyar a message bidding him abandon the control of affairs, retire to Baghdad and leave him (Ibn Baqiyyah) to conduct the war by himself. Ibn Baqiyyah could well have done this had he chosen to proceed. Bakhtiyar however decided to mollify and conciliate him, and to this purpose showed him the secret message. This satisfied Ibn Baqiyyah, and Bakhtiyar comforted him still further by assurances that he would be guided by his advice, pursue the policy which he suggested, and do nothing against his wishes—until Bakhtiyar found the means of arresting Ibn Baqiyyah.

*Account of the reason for Bakhtiyar's arrest of
Ibn Baqiyyah.*

Bakhtiyar's friend IBRAHIM B. ISMA'IL had won his confidence and obtained great influence with him. (374) Originally an obscure sergeant he had risen in Bakhtiyar's favour till he had been appointed his chamberlain; this was after 'Adud al-daulah's departure to Fars.¹ This man, ascertaining the change in Ibn Baqiyyah's sentiments, informed Bakhtiyar that he was in danger of being assaulted by Ibn Baqiyyah in self-defence and taking advantage of the opportunity which his control over the army and the money gave him. Bakhtiyar replied that he feared the army might mutiny, rescue

¹ Above, ii. 329, he is called "a chamberlain" some years before; probably the reference here is to the chief chamberlain.

Ibn Baqiyyah forcibly from his hands, and demand of him their pay.—Ibrahim b. Isma'il assured him that nothing of the sort would take place, and if it did, himself undertook to placate and satisfy them with the money which could be got from Ibn Baqiyyah and his dependents. He gave reasons for thinking that there was a great amount of it, and that the arrest of Ibn Baqiyyah would ease the situation between Bakhtiyar and 'Adud al-daulah, who would thereby be mollified and come to a better mind. Ibrahim further advised Bakhtiyar to appoint no new vizier in Ibn Baqiyyah's place, but retain the clerks in their offices and bureaux, release Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit the Christian from his prison,¹ and commit to him the raising of revenue and collecting of it from the revenue-farmers, without the title vizier. Bakhtiyar accepted his counsel, which he communicated to Bukhtakin Azadhruyah, who approved it. Bakhtiyar was at the time in sore straits. Requiring some ice, he applied to Ibn Baqiyyah, who sent him thirty *ratls*, though on the day of his arrest there were found in his wine-store six thousand *ratls*, which he had provided for a banquet which he was organizing for the army.

On the afternoon of —Dhu'l-Hijjah 366 (began July 21, 977) Ibn Baqiyyah crossed over to Bakhtiyar in his *zabzab*; Bakhtiyar at once sent a party to arrest Ibn Baqiyyah's friend Hasan b. Bishr (Ibn al-Ra'i), and when he was secured, ordered Ibn Baqiyyah to be arrested without admitting him into his presence. He proceeded to seize all the money and horses found in his possession, and released Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit from his prison. Ibn Baqiyyah had ordered Ibn al-Ra'i to put this person to death on the following night; he was saved by the fact that his term appointed by fate had not been reached. In Ibn Baqiyyah's prison there was found an associate of his named (375) KURA'I, whom he had fined, and who was now at his last gasp. He was released by

¹ See above, ii., 366.

Bakhtiyar, who delivered Ibn al-Ra'î to him, to extort money from him, but presently took him away again, whereas Kura'î took alarm and fled to the Marsh.

A few days after the arrest of Ibn Baqiyyah the army displayed unrest, demanded their pay, and made regretful allusions to Ibn Baqiyyah. Bakhtiyar was minded to put him to death at once, and when the army quitted him, despatched him by night in fetters and under guard to Baghdad, sending with him Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit to demand money of him. Owing to Bakhtiyar's haste, which I have mentioned, Ibn Baqiyyah's relations were not watched, but presently messages were sent by carrier-pigeon to Baghdad ordering them to be secured. One of these birds arrived too soon¹; and was taken by the dovecote-keeper to Ibn Baqiyyah's dependents in accordance with the practice whereby service was paid them; receiving the message they warned each other, and some fled, whereas others went into hiding. Ibn Baqiyyah's brother and his nephew Abu'l-Hamra with a number of their party fled to the Banu Shaiban, and afterwards to the Banu 'Uqail, and remained in the desert.

Conclusion of the story of Bakhtiyar and his doings in Wasit to the time of his return to Baghdad.

His arrest of Ibn Baqiyyah had taken place prior to his sending the two envoys Abu Ahmad the Registrar and Bahram b. Ardashir back to 'Adud al-daulah. They witnessed the event with their eyes, and were afterwards despatched, taking with them the two slave-girls, as Baitakin's ransom. Abu Ahmad was further instructed to offer the whole of Bakhtiyar's realm if it should be necessary. Negotiations took place, which resulted in the exchange of the two slave-girls for the lad, whose arrival in Basrah was announced by a series of triumphant messages. Bakhtiyar displayed transports of joy

¹ *i.e.*, before the arrival of Sa'id b. Thabit.

thereat, as though it were equal to securing all the blessings of this world and the next, felt that fortune had returned to him, and was minded to return to Baghdad on such conditions as 'Adud al-daulah should impose. He was visited by his chamberlain Ibrahim b. Isma'il, who bitterly reproached and upbraided him, and advised him to stay in Wasit to wage offensive and defensive war. He was joined by 'ABD AL-RAZZAQ son of *Hasanawaihi* and later by his brother ABU'L-NAJM BADR (376) B. *HASANAWAIHI* with about a thousand horse, and letters arrived from *Hasanawaihi* announcing that he was about to follow them himself. Bakhtiyar now gave out that he meant to stay in Wasit in defiance of 'Adud al-dauah. The report of this having reached the latter, and that Bakhtiyar had violated the compact, 'Adud al-daulah hastened to send messengers to Abu Ahmad the Registrar, bidding him stay in Basrah with the lad till Bakhtiyar should remove from Wasit and adhere to the conditions which had been laid upon him. Abu Ahmad wrote of this to Bakhtiyar, who on receiving the letters was flurried and bustled, wrote letters and sent despatches, but finding all useless, ordered his baggage to be sent on and decided to depart Northwards by night. He told 'Abd al-Razzaq and Abu'l-Najm that he now thought the battle should be fought at Baghdad, since the *Hamdanid* Abu Taghlib was coming to his aid, and asked them to retreat thither with him. They assented, though they thought the strategy contemptible, and had ascertained the story of the slave-boy, but wrote to their father to tell him the facts of the situation. When 'Abd al-Razzaq reached Jarjaraya, he departed homewards; Abu'l-Najm remained by way of showing fidelity and sense of honour. Bakhtiyar loitered on his journey so that he was overtaken by Abu Ahmad and Bahram b. Ardashir, bringing the lad, whom they delivered to Bakhtiyar, who then finished his journey to Baghdad.

Ibn Baqiyyah and the man called Ibn al-Ra'i had declared themselves incapable of answering further claims after they had undergone severe torture. Ibn Baqiyyah solicited letters of amnesty for the members of his family who had fled, and these being written they emerged from their refuges. Ibn Baqiyyah again aspired to be a candidate for the vizierate, and proposed to offer Bakhtiyar 300,000 dinars to be realized out of the estates of his clerks, dependents and friends, and the arrears of the provinces; himself to be restored to his rank to carry on the war and command the army. This came to the ears of those associates and officers of Bakhtiyar who had advised his arrest. They were disturbed, and going in a body to Bakhtiyar informed him that Ibn Baqiyyah's offer was only an expedient to obtain his release and get the chance of absconding, when he would stir up troubles that could not be set right.

(377) In this year Abu'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amid was arrested in Rayy.¹

YEAR 367.

Account of the reason for the mutilation and blinding of Ibn Baqiyyah and Ibn al Ra'i.

'Adud al-daulah's envoy Bahram kept proposing to Bakhtiyar that Ibn Baqiyyah should be surrendered to him to be conveyed to 'Adud al-daulah, who would give in exchange a sum of money out of his treasury. This reached the ears of the persons whom I have mentioned (the officers) who presenting themselves before Bakhtiyar put it into his mind that if he were to surrender Ibn Baqiyyah uninjured to 'Adud al-daulah, the latter might very likely show him kindness and spare him, in which case Bakhtiyar would have an enemy at 'Adud al-daulah's court. Many advised Bakhtiyar to put

¹ The paragraph dealing with this matter is represented by a blank in the MS.; its content is preserved by Yaqut. The reasons for its omission are likely to have been political.

him to death and get rid of him; it was finally decided that he should be blinded and surrendered in that state. The operation was executed on the night of Friday 3 Rabi' i, 367 (Oct. 19, 977). Abu Ishaq son of Mu'izz al-daulah exerted himself to get Ibn Baqiyyah's associate Ibn al-Ra'i to share his fate, owing to some personal resentment. No-one interceded for Ibn al-Ra'i, as he had perpetrated so much torture himself. So he was blinded too.

Bakhtiyar could not make up his mind whether to submit to the suzerainty of 'Adud al-daulah or to persist in his armed rebellion. The two envoys and a party among his counsellors recommended the path of safety, pointing out to him his inability to maintain a struggle, and the inadequacy of his means and forces. (378) Another party among his officers and staff, which included Hasan b. Filsar, advised him to be firm and fight. Presently he arrived at a decision, and out of necessity elected the path of safety and submission. He accepted the suzerainty of 'Adud al-daulah, swore to abide loyally thereby and gave his right hand to shake thereto. He donned robes of honour sent by 'Adud al-daulah and crossed to the Western side with the intention of proceeding to Syria, inscribing the name of 'Adud al-daulah on his standards and banners, and causing his name to be mentioned in the *khutbah* in any city he entered.

When Bakhtiyar acted in this way Badr b. Hasana-waihi left him in despair concerning him and joined his father. 'Adud al-daulah offered Bakhtiyar a handsome sum if he would remain under his protection and meet him, and afterwards proceed whither he chose. Bakhtiyar declined, as he placed no confidence in 'Adud al-daulah. The latter then imposed on Bakhtiyar several conditions, one of which was that he must not attack Abu Taghlib, or indeed get in his way except to the extent of passing

through his territory ; this was in virtue of some previous correspondence which had passed between Abu Taghlib and 'Adud al-daulah, and the former's maintenance of his original contract. 'Adud al-daulah paid Bakhtiyar a sum of money, and sent him some camels and horses as a help in his expedition. Proclamation was then made in Baghdad that Bakhtiyar had returned to 'Adud al-daulah's allegiance, and that he was no longer an enemy but at peace.

The first violation by Bakhtiyar of the conditions was that he attacked the Hamdanid Abu Taghlib and endeavoured to engage him in battle and expel him from his dominions.

Account of the reason for this.

Hamdan, son of Nasir al-daulah, had accompanied Bakhtiyar on his expedition, and when they reached 'Ukbara reminded him of his own case, and promised him the wealth of Nasir al-daulah's sons, and the hoards which he had put away in his fortresses or bequeathed to them, and these were indeed vast in quantity. Hamdan assured Bakhtiyar that there was no realm less formidable for him to attack than that of Abu Taghlib, that he himself would see to the fighting, and was confident that many of the troops would desert to him, as would also some of his brothers and dependents. Bakhtiyar thereupon promised to protect Hamdan as he would protect himself, loyally and faithfully, and swore thereto by the formulæ of the oath of allegiance. A contract was drawn up (379) between them, which they both undertook to observe. When he reached Takrit, Abu Taghlib's secretary 'Ali b. 'Amr came to meet him with some trifling gifts, some barley for provender, and food. He travelled with him to Hadithah, and in a private interview advised him to arrest Hamdan and surrender him to Abu Taghlib, on condition that the latter joined Bakhtiyar, expended his wealth and devoted his arms,

fleet, stores, tents and troops to an expedition to Baghdad for the purpose of rescuing his realm from the hands of 'Adud al-daulah. Bakhtiyar was affected and moved, but stated that he could not consent to such a course in consideration of the solemn oath which he had sworn to Hamdan, and the promise which he had given to 'Adud al-daulah. 'Ali b. 'Amr however returned to the charge again and again, and obtained the support of Bakhtiyar's mother, his brother Abu Ishaq, his chamberlain Ibrahim b. Isma'il, and a number of influential dependents; and this secretary of Abu Taghlib, 'Ali b. 'Amr obtained ascendancy over Bakhtiyar, and took the title of vizier to Bakhtiyar, secretaryship to whom he combined with that to Abu Taghlib, appointing his son as deputy. He worked hard to get Bakhtiyar to betray Hamdan, because Abu Taghlib and his sister Jamilah were anxious to take their revenge for the blood of their brother Abu'l-Barakat.¹

Bakhtiyar persisted in his refusal till Abu Ishaq arrived in Mausil, where he interviewed Abu Taghlib, and the two arranged that Hamdan should be arrested in such a way that Bakhtiyar would have no hand therein, and so escape perjuring himself. He then returned to Hadithah, and talked down Bakhtiyar, telling him that if he did not consent, Abu Taghlib would make an armed attack upon him which he would be unable to resist, whereas if he supported him, Abu Taghlib would prove a true friend and ally, and bring him back to Baghdad; expending his money and stores and summoning troops from every quarter for that object, though indeed his own troops and followers were sufficient for it. Bakhtiyar with his usual feebleness of purpose and irresolution was like wax in his hands; so Hamdan was arrested and surrendered to his enemies, who imprisoned him in a fortress, whilst his son (380) Abu'l-Saraya escaped to 'Adud al-daulah.

¹ See above, ii. 291.

Abu Taghlib now mustered his troops, opened the stores of his strongholds, and displayed the utmost energy. At a meeting with Bakhtiyar on horseback they interchanged oaths and promises, and when they had completed their preparations, they started Southward from Mausil. There were with them 25,000 troops of different sorts. 'Adud al-daulah, not a man to remain in ignorance of the doings of his foes and friends day by day, heard of the proceedings of the party, and started from Baghdad with his victorious forces, sending the van forward to Takrit under ABU'L-QASIM SA'D B. MOHAMMED the Chamberlain. The enemy had sent an army thither under Ibrahim b. Isma'il, chamberlain of Bakhtiyar; he was defeated by Abu'l-Qasim, with great slaughter. Ibrahim himself was near being captured, but escaped to Takrit, where he hid with one of the inhabitants; presently he fled thence and rejoined his friends.

At this time Ibn Baqiyyah was put to death by impalement in Baghdad.

Account of the procedure in this matter.

After being blinded as we have recorded, he was brought to 'Adud al-daulah, when he was encamping at Za'faraniyyah. 'Adud al-daulah gave orders that he should be paraded on a camel, after which money was demanded of him. He declined to produce any; in the presence of the army he was flung to the elephants at the Harb Gate; the beasts were hounded against him, and killed him in a terrible manner. He was immediately impaled on the bank of the Tigris at the bridgehead on the Eastern side, on Friday 6 Shawwal 367 (May 17, 978). He was then removed and impaled on the Western bank, just facing the place on the Eastern. There he remained,

We now come to the conclusion of the story of the battle between Bakhtiyar with his gathering and 'Adud al-daulah at QASR AL-JASS (the Stucco Palace).

'Adud al-daulah ascertained that the enemy had decided to split up into detachments after crossing the Canal called Ishaqi, and advance by various routes to Baghdad. He proceeded with all his forces (381) to QASR al-JASS and encamped above the spot whence they had intended to split up. He had left his vizier Abu'l-Qasim Mutahhar b. 'Abdallah with a large force to represent him in Baghdad. The engagement took place on the morning of Wednesday —12 Shawwal (May 29, 978), and was fiercely contested. Both parties stood their ground, and the Dailemites on both sides held fast. Ultimately 'Adud al-daulah made an irresistible charge; the Bakhtiyarites were routed and pursued by 'Adud al-daulah's army, slaying and capturing. Bakhtiyar had meditated flight but been prevented by his followers; he was afraid of being captured or slain. When the rout was an accomplished fact, he was caught by one of the Kurds belonging to the army, who stripped him, not knowing who he was. He was then recognized by a Turkish retainer named Arslan-Gurmush, to whom, after he had struck Bakhtiyar with a club and was about to repeat the blow, Bakhtiyar revealed his name, and offered himself as prisoner, saying: *Take me to my cousin and receive your reward.* At this point another Turk arrived, and the two brought him to near where the prince was, and asked his permission. The prince hesitated. Abu'l-Wafa Tahir b. Ibrahim¹ was present, and advised that he be finished off. 'Adud al-daulah did not feel happy about it, was embarrassed, and wished to spare him. Abu'l-Wafa however insisted, saying: *What are you waiting for—a third revolt? How long is he to stir up civil wars, of which we may one day be the*

¹ See above, ii. 370.

victims? Have done with him! He raised his voice, and displayed an unnecessary amount of earnestness and emphasis on the matter. 'Adud al-daulah raised his hand to his eyes to brush away the tears and said: *You know best.*—Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd the Chamberlain was on the spot; rushing at Bakhtiyar with one of his followers, he decapitated him. Bakhtiyar was suffering so severely from thirst that had he been left for a moment, death would very likely have come to him.

Numerous officers, princes and persons who sacrificed their lives for Bakhtiyar fell in this battle. Among such was his friend and chamberlain Ibrahim b. Isma'il. In addition to those who were slain many were taken prisoner. Abu Taghlib received a blow during his flight; he had not taken part in the battle, but (382) had looked for some rising ground near the battlefield, and stationed himself thereon. His tactics had been to arrange his army in detachments, so that after a detachment had charged, done its duty, and was wearied, it should retire, when another detachment would charge. The number of the enemy was what put his calculations out. Bakhtiyar's disposition of his cavalry had been of the Dailemite style, wherein he was to meet the enemy and take part in the fighting himself, and obtain support from all sides. The result fell out as I have recorded.

Among remarkable events that occurred before this was that one of the chieftains in the army of Bakhtiyar, named Hasan b. Filsar, advised him when in Baghdad not to evacuate the city or surrender it without a fight and making a brave defence.¹ Bakhtiyar rejected his advice. He then abandoned Bakhtiyar and went off to the Nahrawan Bridge with a party who shared his view. Assembled there they made him their chief, and he conceived the plan of proceeding to some distant region or province. 'Adud al-daulah heard about him,

¹ See above, ii. 378.

and when he came near Baghdad sent a troop of horse after him. They came up with him, and he resisted; the engagement left him prisoner with more than one wound. He lingered for a time and then died. Many of his followers were captured, and so this band was dissolved.

When 'Adud al-daulah had achieved the victory of Qasr al-Jass he continued his advance to Mausil, and got possession of the city with all the dependent provinces and regions. Abu Taghlib imagined that like his predecessors 'Adud al-daulah would abide there for a time and then be compelled to return to Baghdad; for it had been the practice of the *Hamdanids*, when they were unable to resist an invader, to remove their produce, supplies, and all their goods and stores to their fortresses; also to withdraw the clerks and offices thither, and distribute their followers under their leadership in the regions round Mausil. Thus, when the victorious invader entered Mausil, he would find nothing there except what was in the possession of the civil population. Requiring food and provender he would send parties out in search thereof, and on these the *Hamdanid* troops would swoop from unforeseen places and by paths unknown to strange armies, seizing (383) their mules and camels, and killing or capturing those who resisted. The invader after enduring this for a few days, and in spite of endeavours finding no remedy, and no local clerk or other person to assist, would want peace and approach the *Hamdanids* owing to the necessity which I have mentioned. He would then depart, and the *Hamdanids* would resume possession of their dominions. 'Adud al-daulah was not the man to follow this method. He took the precaution of bringing with him as much in the way of supplies, provender and food, as he could secure, and in addition enough natives of Mausil who happened to be in Baghdad, Takrit, and other parts, to direct and serve him. Among the clerks of Baghdad too there

were persons who had lived in Mausil and were acquainted with the sources of revenue. So he was able to hold out till Abu Taghlib had got to Syria after various vicissitudes, and was killed there as we shall presently recount.

In this year the Caliph *Ta'i'* went forth with 'Adud-al-daulah to witness the battle between him and the persons mentioned above, viz. Bakhtiyar and Abu Taghlib. 'Adud al-daulah started out for his camp at the *Harb Gate* at the top of the Western side¹ on Monday 2 Shawwal, 367 (May 2, 978) and *Ta'i'* came out on Thursday 5 Shawwal (May 5). When Bakhtiyar and Abu Taghlib had been defeated in the battle in front of *Qasr al-Jass*, *Ta'i'* returned to his palace in Baghdad, whereas 'Adud al-daulah proceeded, as we have already stated, to Mausil outside which he encamped on Wednesday 10 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (June 19, 978). He entered the place there on Friday (384) (12 June 21).

Envoys were repeatedly sent by Abu Taghlib to 'Adud al-daulah soliciting peace and offering sums of money. 'Adud al-daulah however refused, saying: When we conquer a region with the sword and after an armed conflict, we do not yield it peaceably.—He was emphatic on this matter, and went so far as to tell the envoys distinctly that he preferred Mausil and Diyar Rabi'ah to 'Iraq, and would not part with them for any amount of money. Now Mausil with most of its dependencies had been owned by Nasir al-daulah, whose practice had been to be harsh and exacting with the cultivators and landowners with whom the revenue-farmers had dealings, and bring fictitious claims against them so as to compel them to sell. He would then purchase their lands at very low prices. As he was long-lived, and his tenure of office was lengthy, he

¹ *i.e.*, the point highest up on the river.

became owner as well as lord of the region. When all this came into the possession of 'Adud al-daulah, he did not relax his hold; Abu Taghlib was pursued, and raiding-parties were sent out after him, and he was unable to wear them out or to practice the tactics which we have described. He proceeded to Nisibin, whither 'Adud al-daulah sent Abu'l-Wafa Tahir b. Mohammed in pursuit by the Sinjar road. Among those who had fled with Abu Taghlib were Marzuban son of Bakhtiyar, and his mother with her two sons, Bakhtiyar's brothers, with other fugitives from the battle of Qasr al-Jass. When they were overtaken by Abu'l-Wafa, they started and fled to Miyyafariqin. There they parted; Bakhtiyar's mother, his two brothers and his son, with the dependents who had travelled with them, and the rest of the Dailemites and Turks who bore their name, proceeded to Damascus to take refuge with Alptakin Mu'izzi, who had fought and been defeated by 'Adud al-daulah at the Diyala. When he heard that his patron's sons, womenfolk and dependents were on their way to him, he went out to meet them and did his duty by them. He supposed that they would be to him a source of numerical strength, dignity and authority, but the contrary turned out to be the case. For after his flight from 'Iraq and conquest of Damascus he maintained himself there some four years, repulsed the army of the Maghrib, and resisted the forces despatched against him by the ruler of Egypt, (385) proved a strong ruler, who was feared by the Arabs and whose renown spread in those regions. But when these fugitives came to him, he was attacked by the forces of Egypt as usual in numbers many times those which had been employed on the former occasion, which he went to meet at Ramlah, taking with him the Bakhtiyarite party to share in the conflict. When the opposing armies met, Marzuban b. Bakhtiyar deserted, and the Western troops gained the victory over Alptakin, overwhelming him by their numbers, so that he was

routed. Mu'izz al-daulah's son Abu Tahir was killed, and his other son Abu Ishaq ultimately surrendered. Search was made for Alptakin, who was caught and brought as a prisoner by MUFARRIJ B. DAGHFIL B. AL-JARRAH TA'I. The ruler of Egypt having learned in his long struggle the courage and strength of Alptakin and his Turkish followers, spared him and them and treated him and them with kindness. He made Alptakin a supporter and companion, and presently purchased the right to be his patron, so that Alptakin became something like his slave. His followers were enrolled with the Egyptian ruler's army and kindly treated.

Abu Taghlib stopped in Miyyafariqin, having with him his sister Jamilah, who alone shared his authority, his other surviving sisters, his wives and children. When he heard that Abu'l-Wafa was advancing in his direction, he sent on the women, children, goods and baggage to the fortress of Badlis, but went himself to join his dependents. Abu'l-Wafa arriving at Miyyafariqin found it locked against him, having a strong wall of black stones on which iron has no effect, it being one of the fortresses built by the Romans of old.¹ Abu'l-Wafa, who was pursuing Abu Taghlib, masked it. The latter reached Arzan, and encamped by a river called Khuwaibur, but presently departed thence in the direction of *Hasaniyyah*, and got access to his fortresses, whence he hastily withdrew treasure. The Shaikh Abu'l-Wafa returned to Miyyafariqin to besiege and capture it. 'Adud al-daulah, learning that Abu Taghlib was visiting his fortresses and removing treasure from them, started from Mausil (386) himself; Abu Taghlib fled before him, and was abandoned by the bulk of his army and his chief officers, who deserted to 'Adud al-daulah. Among the latter was Bukhtakin Azadhriyah, with the relics of the retainers who had been in the

¹ Photographs of ancient fortifications in this region are to be found in Wigram's *Cradle of Mankind*.

employ of Mu'izz al-daulah and Saif al-daulah. 'Adud al-daulah now returned to Mausil, having left Abu Taghlib bereft of strength and support.

Abu Taghlib in this flight took the road of the Jazirah. Abu Harb Tughan the chamberlain was despatched by 'Adud al-daulah in pursuit, with orders to follow him and bring him to bay. Abu Taghlib turned aside from the road, and returned to Badlis by a difficult pass, thinking that he was not pursued. Orders were sent to Tughan to pursue him, and Abu Sa'd Bahram b. Ardashir was despatched with an army to reinforce him. He advanced in Abu Taghlib's rear, and the latter fled from Badlis, and entered Byzantine territory to go to the Byzantine emperor Ward, a man who had made himself sovereign,¹ but had then been opposed by the army in Constantinople, who set up two brothers of the imperial family;² in consequence whereof the Byzantines were divided into factions, and there was a lengthy armed struggle between them. This Ward had allied himself by marriage to Abu Taghlib and conciliated him with the view of obtaining his support against his personal enemies. Things turned out the other way, and Abu Taghlib had to take refuge with *him*.

It happened that the route of Abu Taghlib was through defiles between mountains, wherein he was overtaken by 'Adud al-daulah's army.

Account of an error committed by Abu Sa'd Bahram in unfair treatment of his army which led to its being defeated and routed after it had the opportunity of defeating and capturing Abu Taghlib and his followers.

'Adud al-daulah's army was most anxious to capture the baggage of Abu Taghlib, (387) their cupidity being

¹ Bardas Sclerus, of whom an account is given by Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 144 foll. His authorities make his proclamation as Emperor subsequent to that of the two brothers.

² Basil and Constantine, sons of Romanus and Theophano.

aroused by their knowledge of the nature of the objects which he had removed from the fortress. They were aware that he had left there no hoard of precious gems, pearls of price, no light but valuable article of gold or other material, but had brought all away ; and they saw the actual chests which had been described to them as removed from the fortress. The Turks and champions of the army, all whose chargers and weapons were to be trusted, were pressing forward to secure this plunder. Abu Sa'd Bahram then issued this proclamation ; *My gallant men, guard those chests, as they are our master's property.* He repeated this with insistence, and the ardour of the pursuers relaxed. The enemy observed their slackening, without knowing the cause ; Abu Taghlib charged with his forces, Bahram's men were put to flight, flung on each other, and many of them were killed. Tughan received many wounds, permanently disabling some of his limbs. He escaped with Bahram, having come near destruction after they had been on the verge of spoil and victory. This took place at the beginning of

YEAR 368. ¹

Abu Taghlib after defeating Tughan and Bahram felt safe, and proceeded to *Hisn Ziyad*, where he stopped. The armies of Constantinople were now on the march against Ward, who was too much occupied with his own concerns to attend to Abu Taghlib, but sent him a quantity of supplies, and suggested that Abu Taghlib should join him, so that they might together fight the enemies of Ward ; when these had been defeated, and Ward was safe from them, he would in return assist Abu Taghlib. Abu Taghlib could not make up his mind to go to him, but despatched a portion of his army to reinforce Ward's, while staying (388) himself in *Hisn Ziyad* awaiting the result. The two Byzantine hosts

¹ Began Aug. 9, 978.

met in battle, and Ward was routed.¹ Abu Taghlib despaired of assistance from this quarter when he heard the news, and returning to Islamic territory took up his quarters in Amid till Miyyafariqin was taken.

Account of the conditions in Miyyafariqin and of its capture.

We stated that Abu'l-Wafa masked Miyyafariqin in his pursuit of Abu Taghlib. When the latter fled to Byzantine territory, and Abu Harb Tughan was given sole charge of his pursuit, Abu'l-Wafa returned to Miyyafariqin. Hazarmard² came out against him with the intention of engaging him, but finding himself unable to cope with the enemy returned and entrenched himself in the city. Abu'l-Wafa's plans demanded that he should proceed against Arzan. He besieged this place for three days; the inhabitants, being unable to resist, opened the gates to him, and were permitted to surrender and become his subjects. Abu'l-Wafa went the round of the fortresses in the neighbourhood of Miyyafariqin, and when he had subdued them all he returned thither and made war on the inhabitants for three months and a fraction; the cold weather then came on and snow fell, but he held out notwithstanding. Artillery was mounted within the wall which played on him and his camp, but he held out and replied with similar artillery, which launched fire and stones. In the interval he was subduing the neighbouring fortresses, whose inhabitants with the retainers of Abu Taghlib stationed in them were surrendering. Presently Hazarmard came to his end, and Abu Taghlib, to whom the news was conveyed by letter, wrote back appointing in his place one of the Hamdanid retainers who had been

¹ The date is given in another chronicle as Sunday —8 Sha'ban, 368 (March 23, 979). Lebeau-Brosset describes the battle (on the Halys) at length, but gives no date.

² He is mentioned in an authority cited above ii. 312 (text) note, as governor of Amid.

attached to Hazarmard, named MU'NIS. Now there was in the town an ignorant and headstrong qadi, possessing none of the qualifications for the office, named Abu'l-Husain Mubarak b. Maimun, and known as IBN ABI IDRIS.¹ He got control over (389) this Mu'nis, and united the citizens, the volunteers and the men-at-arms among them in stubborn resistance. Abu'l-Wafa wrote summoning him to submit and making him attractive offers, but he would hear of nothing but holding out. He would mount one of the towers on the wall and call out to the army, mentioning their officers, commander and sovereign by name, with violent and obscene abuse; he would go yet further and do things which it were unseemly to record. Abu'l-Wafa presently left him alone and entered into correspondence with a respected and influential shaikh of Miyyafariqin named ABU'L-HUSAIN AHMAD B. 'UBAIDALLAH.

Account of the scheme whereby Abu'l-Wafa succeeded in taking Miyyafariqin.

Abu'l-Wafa found outside the town a slave of this Ahmad b. 'Ubaidallah, who was living on an estate of his, and made use of him as messenger to his master. Treating the slave with kindness and liberality he got him to act as confidential agent, who did not let his master rest till he consented to submit, and secretly obtained promises and oaths from the citizens that they would do the like. The qadi who has been named got wind of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to put Ahmad b. 'Ubaidallah to death, and would have succeeded had he not been protected by the citizens, who would not let him be harmed. His influence increased; the citizens, who were weary of the siege and the straits, gathered round him, and ultimately he assumed the command. On Friday 2 Jumada i, 368 (Dec. 6, 978) they violently

¹ The family which provided qadis for this place was called the house of Ibn Abi Idris.

assaulted the followers of Abu Taghlib (390), Mu'nis with his followers had to take refuge in their dwellings, and Ahmad b. 'Ubaidallah arrested the qadi Ibn Abi Idris with all the followers and courtiers of Bakhtiyar who were in the fortress of Miyyafariqin. Among the last was a capricious retainer, notorious for foolhardiness and ignorance, named IBN AL-TABARI, who had won favour with Bakhtiyar by the style of boon-companionship which suited him. This person had supported the qadi in his policy and his foul and vulgar language on the subject of the monarchs. Ahmad b. 'Ubaidallah then sent to Mu'nis the Hamdani to demand the keys of the city-gate, and threatened him if he delayed. He was supported by the people in this demand; so he sent them, with a request for amnesty, and Ahmad b. 'Ubaidallah wrote to Abu'l-Wafa explaining what he had done, and soliciting amnesty for Mu'nis and the Hamdanites who were with him, with the exception of the qadi and Ibn al-Tabari. Abu'l-Wafa sent ABU'L-FATH MUZAFFAR B. MOHAMMED with a detachment of the army to enter the city and take possession of it. Abu'l-Wafa proceeded to treat the inhabitants with kindness, distributing money and giving alms to the feeble by 'Adud al-daulah's orders. He had the qadi and Ibn al-Tabari brought into his presence, and ordered them to be decapitated and impaled on the tower of the wall whence he used to display himself and practise his vulgarity.

The Conquest of Amid.

Abu'l-Wafa had at first sent the Chamberlain ABU 'ALI TAMIMI to storm Amid, but he had been unable to do so owing to its strong position and the solid character of its wall, which is more impregnable than that of Miyyafariqin. So he raised the siege, and Abu Taghlib, as has already been mentioned, returned thither from Byzantine territory, thinking he could stay and maintain

himself there. When Miyyafariqin had been taken, he was aware that the army would proceed against him, and that he would not be able to hold out, considering that the siege would come after such a series of disasters as he had experienced. So he sent his sisters, except Jamilah, to capitulate to Abu'l-Wafa; his followers, perceiving his weakness, became disorderly, so he fled to Raḥbah, taking with him his sister Jamilah and those of his womenfolk to whom he was specially attached. He took refuge with one (391) ANJUTAKIN, a noble Turk, famous for strength and steadfastness in the field, able to wield a club too heavy for any one else, and against which no-one could stand when he wielded it. A number of Turks also took refuge with him. *Various of his former followers*¹ now sought the court of 'Adud al-daulah to solicit his pardon, and presently there was a stream of persons who had been in the service of Abu Taghlib, retainers, soldiers, clerks, officials, attendants, doing the like. The citizens of Amid after his departure then followed the example of Miyyafariqin, and opened the gates freely and peaceably.

Abu'l-Wafa established his authority over all Diyar Bakr and returned to Mausil, taking with him the captives, after appointing persons in whom 'Adud al-daulah had confidence to guard the fortresses, and establishing ministers of finance and public security in the towns.

Account of the doings of Abu Taghlib after his flight from Amid.

On his retreat from Amid to Raḥbah Abu Taghlib despatched Abu 'Abdallah Husain son of Nasir al-daulah with SALAMAH BARQA'IDI, an eminent Hamdanite, to 'Adud al-daulah with a missive which contained an appeal for mercy, and a request for peace and favour. He then proceeded to Raḥbah, where he stayed waiting

¹ There appears to be a lacuna, of which the words in italics perhaps represent the sense,

for the reply. Abu 'Abdallah and Salamah Barqa'idi arrived in Mausil, and the former delivered his message. He was courteously received by 'Adud al-daulah, who accepted his excuses, and offered him ¹ a fief and honourable treatment on condition of his treading 'Adud al-daulah's carpet, and accepting his protection. Abu Abdallah was able to observe the caution practised by 'Adud al-daulah; for kind and liberal as he was to Abu 'Abdallah, he permitted no-one to approach the latter, who saw no-one but the persons appointed to guard him. Being aware that his brother would not consent to the terms offered by 'Adud al-daulah, he practised prudence on his own account, obtained in secret special protection for himself, and decided to part from his brother and return to 'Adud al-daulah's court. So he went and delivered 'Adud al-daulah's reply, and his forecast that Abu Taghlib would reject the proposals turned out to be correct; (392) Abu Taghlib departed to Syria to seek refuge with the ruler of the Maghrib, and was accompanied by his brother *Husain* part of the way, but abandoned by him a little before Tadmor, without having obtained his permission. Abu Taghlib sent men in pursuit, and dispersed his baggage, but failed to overtake *Husain* himself, who escaped to the court of 'Adud al-daulah, where he received high honours.

Conquest of Diyar Mudar

The governor of this region was Salamah Barqa'idi, against whom SA'D AL-DAULAH, son of Saif al-daulah, sent an army to dislodge him: war was waged between the two parties. Sa'd al-daulah had entered into correspondence with 'Adud al-daulah, offering his allegiance, and obtained his protection. 'Adud al-daulah now sent thither Abu Ahmad Musawi the Registrar, who pacified the region after a campaign, so that the inhabitants

¹ Probably Abu Taghlib,

submitted. When the authority of 'Adud al-daulah was established there, he appropriated Raqqah and its dependencies as his domain, and handed the rest of the province over to Sa'd al-daulah, to be in the same condition as the other portions of Syria which were under his rule.

He proceeded to the conquest of Raḥbah, and then devoted his energies to that of Abu Taghlib's fortresses, which were on the Eastern side of the Tigris, and numerous. Among them were Ardumusht, Sha'bani, Uhrur, Mulaisa, and Barqi. Ardumusht in particular was full of precious goods, such as wearing apparel and furniture of different sorts, gems, objects wrought in the precious metals, ornaments and stores of all kinds. Abu Taghlib had installed there a Kurd who was his kinsman through his mother (Fatimah daughter of Ahmad the Kurd) named IBN BADAWAIHI, and attached to him a slave who had belonged to his father, and in whom he placed confidence, named TASH TAM. 'Adud al-daulah sent against him Abu'l-'Ala 'UBAIDALLAH B. AL-FADL B. NASR the Christian, with instructions to besiege the fortress and compass its capture. Against Sha'bani he sent the chamberlain Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd b. Mohammed, and against Uhrur a friend of Abu Nasr (393) KHURSHID YAZDYAR the Treasurer. Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl was acquainted with the character of certain relatives of Ibn Badawaihi the Kurd outside the fortress (Ardumusht), and invited them to enter 'Adud al-daulah's service, offering them various advantages, and pointing out to them the decline of Abu Taghlib's cause, and indeed how it had become desperate: and by Abu'l-'Ala's advice 'Adud al-daulah himself addressed letters to them. They were attracted by these offers, and having obtained assurance that the promises would be carried out, were presently induced to write to the governor of the fortress, suggesting to him to put Tashtam under arrest and surrender the fortress; the

reason for the former measure being that *Tashtam* was very anxious for his master's return, so that his fidelity might be exhibited before him. Ibn Badawaihi carried out these suggestions ; he lavished gifts on the watchers and others in charge of the fortress, and left the decision to them. He was thus enabled to arrest *Tashtam* and put him in fetters. Thus the fortress with all its contents was secured, and the worth, the energy and the dexterity of Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl were displayed. The value of the goods found in the fortress according to what we put down (I was one of those sent thither to remove such of the contents as were suitable for the Treasury) ¹ together with what was to be sold and what was to be left in the fortress was about 20,000,000 dirhems.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK SAYS : 'Adud al-daulah ordered me to go with KHWASHADHAH ² to this fortress and furnish an inventory of its contents. I was then to take charge of *Tashtam* in his fetters and mount him on a mule with a bare, cushionless packsaddle ; his followers, who had put him in fetters and surrendered the fortress, were to be clad in robes of honour and mounted on horses with saddles with talents of money and wearing apparel which had been presented them, and this party I was to conduct round the fortresses which had not been taken and still held out, that the inhabitants might see what had happened to *Tashtam* and take warning, and also see the condition of the others and desire (394) the like.³ I carried these orders out and conveyed missives to the governors of these fortresses. Scenes occurred which it would take too long to unfold, but the main issue was that when these people saw the state of *Tashtam* and that of his comrades, they

¹ See above, ii. 291.

² A treasurer of 'Adud al-daulah.

³ This scheme seems to have been derived from Tabari's account of the way wherein Muwaffaq ultimately subdued the Zanj rebellion.

had an access of terror from the one side, of cupidity from the other. Previously they had not believed the reporters who had announced the capture of the fortress in which *Tashtam* had been ; but when they saw him with their eyes and addressed him, they ascertained the decline of *Abu Taghlib* and the might of 'Adud al-daulah and after a time surrendered the fortresses.

I witnessed on this expedition a display on this *Tashtam's* part of strength of mind, eagerness to perform his devotions, and fervency in prayer. He had been promised his life and no more ; and he asked me to help him and put his case favourably before 'Adud al-daulah. When we returned to *Mausil* after going the complete round of the fortresses in the way which I have described, I pleaded for *Tashtam* with 'Adud al-daulah, certified his character, and fitness for the prince's service. He replied : The man is as you say, but it would be impolitic to show him favour.—How so ? I asked.—Because, he replied, he resisted us, and others won our goodwill at his expense. If he were to be favoured, I should be equalizing him with those who served me by arresting him, and this would disgust those who are disposed to serve us against our enemies, who would suppose that we do not discriminate in our benevolence between friend and foe, between those who yield and those who resist. Besides this there are in front of us various fortresses that have not yet been captured, and if their governors who are holding out learn that we have favoured this person, the fear will leave their hearts, and they will hope for a similar result in their own case if they fall into our hands, and to remain safely in their places if they escape us.—He added : A further reason is that I have a plan with regard to this man, which is to send him to his master *Abu Taghlib*, who doubtless is misleading the ruler of Egypt with respect to him and his fortress, claiming that it is still in his possession, and contains his treasures and his faithful followers, and that

his hoards in these fortresses will pay his expenses if only he be supplied with troops. His fictions will be plausible and pass current there till this man appears on his horizon, preceded by reports of what (395) has befallen him. Abu Taghlib's fallacies will then be exposed, and his destitution come to light, with the fact that he is a fugitive from our swords, has only escaped "by the skin of his teeth," and has behind him no munitions, no treasure, and no fortress.—When I heard this reply, I recognized that it was sound policy for the time, and that it would be unwise to oppose it; so I was silent.—Tashtam came to know of 'Adud al-daulah's intention of sending him in fetters, just as he was, to his master, and was greatly troubled. He sent to solicit a visit from me to his prison. I went, as a matter of conscience, and found him weeping copiously, and so troubled that he could not remain quiet on the ground.—What is the matter with you? I asked.—The king, he said, guaranteed my life, and now I understand that he is putting me in the power of one who will not spare me.—He dilated on this theme, and implored me to go again to 'Adud al-daulah and remind him of his promise that the man's life should be spared.—I was bold enough to go again to the prince, but he would not forsake his original plan, saying: I only gave him a promise of his life on my own account, *i.e.*, that no evil should befall him from me, and to this I adhere. I do not guarantee that his master will do him no mischief.—He declined all responsibility for what his master might do to him, and ordered that he should be speedily sent off. When Abu Taghlib heard about him, as he was already in the neighbourhood, the former sent people to meet and put him to death. (God knows whether this story be true or not; in any case his death was announced a little while after).

Account of the arrangements made by 'Adud al-daulah for the administration of these territories and his return to Baghdad.

Leaving ABU'L-WAFA in Mausil to revise the assessments, appoint finance ministers in the districts, draw up regulations, and organize bureaux, he returned to Baghdad, which he reached on Saturday the last day of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 368 (June 29, 979). The Caliph Ta'i' went out to meet him with the whole of the resident army, and all the nobles and commons. His entry took place on Sunday 1 Dhu'l-Hijjah (June 30). He passed along the Western side with his army in perfect order after a series of arches had been erected which stretched between his camp at the Harb Gate to the place at the other end of the town wherein (396) he took up his quarters, viz. the Najmi Garden. On the Monday he crossed the river to his Palace, where he established himself.

Account of the honours bestowed on 'Adud al-daulah by the Caliph Ta'i'.

An order was issued by Ta'i' to his deputy ministers in the public mosques of Baghdad that 'Adud al-daulah's name should be mentioned from the pulpits immediately after his own. Letters to this effect were despatched to them, and it was further ordered that drums should be beaten at his gate at prayer-times.¹ These are two distinctions attained by 'Adud al-daulah and by no other monarch who had preceded him in ancient or in modern times.²

¹ Cp. above, ii. 264.

² An authority cited in the note to the text asserts that Mu'izz al-daulah had been refused the right to have the drum beaten, though he solicited Muti' for it. It is extraordinary that Mu'izz al-daulah could grant a right which he might not exercise himself. It would seem that the Prince of princes was not allowed to have his name mentioned on the Baghdad pulpits before this time.

YEAR 369.¹

In this year a brother of the Byzantine Sclerus² named Ward came to the capital. We have already told the story of Ward's defeat at the hands of the armies of Constantinople; he had gone to Diyar Bakr, and despatched this brother of his to 'Adud al-daulah, to solicit his help and support, with offers of submission and alliance. When the two brothers who were emperors in Constantinople learned (397) what he was doing, they sent a distinguished envoy to 'Adud al-daulah to counteract Ward's operations. The two envoys met on 'Adud al-daulah's carpet, both of them humble rivals for his favour, outbidding each other in their endeavours to gratify him, and racing for the prize of his protection. They did not depart till year 369 had ended.³ Nothing like this had ever happened before; it was one of the glories of 'Adud al-daulah.

In this year 'Imran b. Shahin, ruler of the Marsh, died suddenly on Thursday —13 Muharram (Aug. 15, 979). He had gone out on a pleasure excursion⁴ in the morning according to his habit, and when he returned home he fell ill within an hour and expired. This was after traps had been laid for him for forty years, fortunes had been expended on campaigns against him, he had humiliated the mighty and the rulers of empires, outlived them one by one and seen them depart before him enduring vexation and (398) oppressed with grievances, while his family was secure, his household well guarded, and himself untroubled by their animosities and their

¹ Began July 29, 979.

² Apparently Miskawaihi thought this a title. The brother's name was Constantine, Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 159.

³ It ended July 16, 980. According to Lebeau-Brosset, xiv., 159, Sclerus himself came to Baghdad, and the ambassador from Constantinople, Nicephorus Uranus, on arrival, was arrested.

⁴ Probably the word literally "ride," refers to a boat, if this is to agree with above, ii. 329.

plots. Only when God summoned him, then there was neither anticipation nor delay.

In this year 'Adud al-daulah despatched an army under his confidential friend Abu'l-Qasim 'ALI B. JA'FAR WADHARI, to whom he attached Abu'l-'Ala the Christian ('Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl), in pursuit of the Banu Shaiban.

Account of the reason for this.

This tribe (the Banu Shaiban) were refractory, having got into the habit of pillaging, raiding and robbing; pursuit of them had become hopeless. The reason of this was that they had excellent horses on which they counted for flight when they were pursued; in one night their raids would cover thirty parasangs or more. At evening they would be in one place, and the next morning at this distance from it, and *vice versa*. The government could never ascertain their whereabouts or pursue them with success. They had a chief named —, and had besides formed alliances, matrimonial and other, with the Kurds who had taken possession of Shahrazur,¹ a place which continued to resist the Sultan, and whose inhabitants would not submit, owing to the strength of their city, and their innate rebelliousness, courage and hardihood. 'Adud al-daulah wished to begin with Shahrazur in order to separate the Shaiban Bedouins from the Kurds of the place. It happened that Abu'l-Qasim Wadhari's journey came shortly after his recovery from a lengthy illness; this broke out afresh on the way and caused his death. News of this reaching 'Adud al-daulah, he wrote to Abu'l-'Ala ('Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl), bidding him undertake the office and achieve the object of the expedition. Abu'l-'Ala obeyed and exhibited his well-known worth. He embarked on the enterprise in a manner which saved his master further trouble and satisfied all expectations. He reached Shahrazur and encamped outside it; its gates were

¹ Cp. above, ii. 159.

opened to him and he entered it with a small force having made a truce with the inhabitants and accepted (399) their submission, for they were not the primary object nor was their city what was wanted. The Banu Shaiban fled by land Northwards in the direction of the Zabs, according to their custom of galloping off when pursued.

Account of the strategy whereby Abu'l-'Ala overcame them.

He proceeded to Daquqa, where he abode four days and part of a fifth, occupied in the laying of various plots and schemes, with continual correspondence, wherein courtesy, conciliation and promises were employed, till they regarded him as harmless. Nevertheless he did not hurry, but waited till they had come near him with their clans, and then he attacked them by night, and dealt them a terrific blow, which swept away their lives and their possessions, their offspring and their men of might. He obtained enormous booty, and slew a great number of their fighting men; he came away with two hundred heads of the slain and eight hundred prisoners, among whom were several of their chieftains and notables. Entering Baghdad on Thursday 8 Rajab (Jan. 29, 980) he paraded the captives on camels in long *burnouses* and coloured garments on the 14th (Feb. 4, 980). They were then placed in the prisons and dungeons, whilst those who had escaped were dispersed in distant regions. Thus their fuel was quenched, and the districts of Baghdad and the Sawad were freed from their mischief.

In this year Abu Ahmad Musawi, Registrar of Abu Talib's family, his brother Abu 'Abdallah, and the Judge of judges, Abu Mohammed 'Ubaidallah b. Ahmad b. Ma'ruf, were arrested and sent off to Fars; the office of the last was conferred on ABU SA'D BISHR B. HUSAIN, an aged man, who was living in Fars, and appointed four deputies in Baghdad, one for each quarter; they were

Abu Bakr (400) Mohammed b. 'Abdallah called IBN SABR, deputy for the East side, from the limit of Mukharrim upwards, ABU'L-HASAN 'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. AHMAD KHARAZI, deputy for the rest of the Eastern side from the limit of Mukharrim downwards; Abu Mohammed 'Abdallah b. Mohammed, called IBN AL-AKFANI, deputy for the city of Abu Ja'far Mansur and the parts of the Western side contiguous to it upwards; and ABU MOHAMMED 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. MOHAMMED 'UMANI deputy for the city (401) called Sharqiyyah (Eastern) which is on the West of the Tigris stretching downwards. The districts of the Sawad were divided between the four deputies being attached to these four districts.

In this year intelligence arrived of the death of Abu Taghlib Fadl Allah son of Nasir al-daulah in Ramlah.

Account of the circumstances of his death and cremation.

We have already recorded how he started from Raḥbah for Damascus.¹ Hearing that 'Adud al-daulah had been writing to Sa'd al-daulah (son of Saif al-daulah) and all the Bedouins there (the Banu Kilab, etc.) bidding them intercept Abu Taghlib on his route thither, arrest him, and bring him to 'Adud al-daulah's court, he took fright, and abandoning the direct road plunged into the desert, where he endured much suffering, at the end of which he reached Damascus. There he found that one of the inhabitants named QASSAM had entrenched himself, and obtained control of the place, defying the ruler of the West; Abu Taghlib was therefore unable to enter, and took up his quarters outside. Thence he despatched his secretary 'Ali b. 'Amr to Egypt to solicit aid from the ruler of the West. A dispute breaking out between his followers and those of Qassam, he departed to a place called Nawa,² where he was deserted by his cousin ABU'L-

¹ Above, ii. 392.

² Placed by Yaqut at two stages from Damascus, in the Hauran.

GHITRIF, who surrendered to 'Adud al-daulah. Here he received a letter from his secretary in Egypt, to the effect that the ruler of the West had received him and promised him everything he wanted; and that he requested Abu Taghlib to come to him on a visit. Abu Taghlib declined, and a series of communications and negotiations ensued. He then left Nawa for a place called Kafr 'Aqib on the Lake of Tiberias, where he was deserted by his brother Abu Tahir—with his permission and consent—to surrender to 'Adud al-daulah. Now the ruler of the West had despatched one of his chief retainers named al-Fadl to Damascus to scheme against Qassam and reconquer the country. Taking up his quarters at Tiberias he was near (402) Abu Taghlib, and the two interchanged messages with a view to a meeting. Al-Fadl went to Abu Taghlib, who came out to meet him; the two held a discussion on horseback, at which al-Fadl promised the other in the name of the ruler of the West all that he wished, whereas Abu Taghlib offered to accompany al-Fadl to Damascus to assist in its reconquest. Al-Fadl did not approve of this suggestion, owing to the ill-feeling that had come about between Abu Taghlib and Qassam, who might therefore be alarmed by Abu Taghlib's participation in the enterprise, when al-Fadl's procedure was subtlety and cunning, not intimidation and violence. The two parted, and returned each to his place. Al-Fadl then proceeded to Damascus, but could not carry out there what he had proposed.

Now there was in Ramlah one DAGHFAL B. AL-MUFARRAJ B. AL-JARRAH the Ta'ite, a Bedouin who had made himself master of the region, and professed submission to the ruler of the West, though he by no means conducted himself according to the principles involved. He became powerful and had a large following of Bedouin. This person started an expedition against the clans of 'Uqail resident in Syria, with the view of

defeating and expelling them from that country. They appealed to Abu Taghlib, imploring his assistance and reminding him of their common ancestry in Nizar. Ibn al-Jarrah wrote to him, forbidding him to comply, and reminding him of the ancient confederacy which had existed in Pagan days between Rabi'ah and Yaman.¹ Abu Taghlib mediated between the two parties, suggesting that they should refrain from hostilities till the ruler of the West had been consulted, and that his ruling on the dispute that had come between them should be obeyed. He himself moved his quarters and took them up in the vicinity of the 'Uqail, ostensibly for the purpose of preventing them from taking the initiative in hostilities. This alarmed Ibn al-Jarrah and al-Fadl the representative of the ruler of the West, who feared him, and supposed that his uniting with the 'Uqail was out of a design on their territories.

Al-Fadl now proceeded from the gate of Damascus by the coast route to Ramlah. Abu Taghlib grew weary of his long inaction and the regular succession of letters from his secretary postponing and making excuses, and started for Ramlah with the 'Uqail clans in Muharram of 369 (began July 29, 979). Ibn al-Jarrah and al-Fadl fled before him till they had got a long way off. Al-Fadl wrote for reinforcements and mustered the armies of the coasts, with their governors, and Ibn al-Jarrah likewise mustered his troops. Numerous parties joined them both. (403) ASUKHTAKIN the Maghribi Turk,² some other Turks, some of the troops who had been in the employ of the Ikhshidis, and some Westerns deserted from the armies of al-Fadl and Ibn al-Jarrah to Abu Taghlib; the two former commanders swung against him with the troops whom they had mustered,

¹ Aghani, xiii., 59. Taghlib, the tribe of the Hamdanids, was a branch of Rabi'ah. Cp. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, tr. Stokes, p. 152.

² This probably means a Turk who had been in the employ of the Egyptian ruler,

and the engagement took place at the gate of Ramlah on Monday 1 Safar, 369.¹ When the 'Uqail saw the numbers of the enemy, they took to flight; Abu Taghlib's prospects were impaired, Asukhtakin the Maghribi abandoned him, and fled to 'Iraq to surrender to 'Adud al-daulah, the rest of the Egyptians who had deserted returned to al-Fadl and Ibn al-Jarrah, and no more than some seven hundred men remained with Abu Taghlib; these were retainers of the Hamdan family. They took to flight and being overtaken by the pursuers, turned round to defend themselves with dogged courage. One of the brigands² hit Abu Taghlib on the head, and wounded the hinder parts of his horse; he fell to the ground; a cousin of Ibn al-Jarrah, named MUSHAYYA' the Ta'ite, hurried up, killed some of his followers and captured most of his retainers. Abu Taghlib by evening was in the hands of Ibn al-Jarrah, who hastened away with his clans and his army next morning, sending Abu Taghlib in front of him on a she-camel with his legs tied by a chain to its belly. Ibn al-Jarrah had decided not to spare him, but to take his life. Al-Fadl, hearing the news, came next morning to take him out of Ibn al-Jarrah's hands; finding that Ibn al-Jarrah had already started, he went in pursuit. When he approached, Ibn al-Jarrah, fearing lest al-Fadl should take possession of Abu Taghlib, and bring him to Egypt, where, like Alptakin, he might win the favour and become the friend of the ruler of the West having a grudge against Ibn al-Jarrah for this engagement and his capture, he made the camel kneel down and with his own hand struck him twice with the sword. Abu Taghlib fell down dead; Ibn al-Jarrah removed his head, and one of the Bedouin shaikhs amputated his hands and feet, because Abu Taghlib had struck off the hand of one of his sons in

¹ Possibly this should be 370, in which case the date corresponds with Aug. 16, 980. The corresponding day of Safar 369 would be Thursday, Aug. 28, 979.

² The reference is probably to the Bedouin.

self-defence. By the time al-Fadl arrived the business was over. He took the head and despatched it to Egypt. The trunk was impaled and then cremated.

(404) He had left behind with the Banu 'Uqail his sister Jamilah and his wife, daughter of Saif al-daulah. After his death the 'Uqail conveyed the two with the rest of his family to *Halab*, where Sa'd al-daulah received his sister, but sent Jamilah to *Raqqah*, whence she was sent down the river to 'Anah, whence she was conveyed to *Mausil* and surrendered to Abu'l-Wafa. In his charge she remained till he departed for *Baghdad*, whither he brought her with him. She was put into custody in one of the private apartments of 'Adud al-daulah's palace with his wives and slave-girls.¹

Account of the rebuilding and restoration of Baghdad after its devastation.

In this year 'Adud al-daulah ordered the houses and streets of *Baghdad* to be rebuilt, as they had been injured partly by arson, partly by demolition. They were a mere heap. He began with the public mosques, which also were in an absolutely ruinous condition, spending a vast sum upon them. Such of the buildings as were beyond repair were demolished by his order, and replaced with solid erections, which were raised high, furnished and decorated. He ordered the remunerations of the managers, *muadhdhins*, prayer-leaders and Readers to be regularly paid, and allowances to be provided for the (405) strangers and poor who took refuge in them; all this had been neglected and unthought-of. Next he ordered the restoration of such suburban mosques as were out of repair, and restored their trust-funds. In these reforms he relied on trustworthy agents, supervised by the Registrar of the 'Alids. He then

¹ An authority cited in the note on the text says that after extreme persecution from 'Adud al-daulah, whom she declined to marry, she drowned herself in the *Tigris*.

compelled the owners of plots which had suffered from fire and devastation during the riots to restore them to perfect condition, whether as regards the buildings on them or appearance and decoration. Those who could not afford this were allowed to borrow from the Treasury, which was to be recouped when the borrower's circumstances improved ; where the owner was untrustworthy or absent, a trustee was appointed who was allowed the sums which he required. Thus Baghdad was rebuilt and became as magnificent as it had ever been.

Attention was now devoted to the houses and dwellings on both banks of the Tigris ; embankments were built up, and balconies repaired after they had been in ruins. He ordered those high officials and members of the court whose names were attached to houses on the riverbank to do their best to restore and beautify them. The reason for the ruin of these houses and palaces was that Bakhtiyar had demolished the palace of Abu'l-Fa \ddot{a} l 'Abbas b. *Husain* Shirazi which was on the Sarat and the Tigris, when he had expropriated the vizier,¹ a palace which had no rival in Baghdad for extent or beauty. The vizier had laid out a garden of some ten *jaribs* filled with palms and other trees, fragrant herbs, flowers, and rare exotics, and erected therein splendid saloons and capacious dwellings. The price fetched by the materials seemed to Bakhtiyar a goodly sum, and he was quite satisfied after this to sell building material, and in consequence demolished some magnificent buildings which could not easily be restored, if indeed they could be at all. 'A \ddot{d} ud al-daulah abolished the practice of demolishing and selling the materials, and ordered the restoration of the garden which formed the court of 'Abbas b. *Husain's* palace, as also that of the Zahir Garden in the middle of the Eastern side of Baghdad ; these works were carried out and these waste places were filled with flowers, plants, and buildings

¹ See above, ii. 311.

after they had been the haunts (406) of dogs, and dumping-grounds for carcasses and garbage. Plants were brought thither from Fars and elsewhere.

In Baghdad there were numerous canals, such as Nahr al-'Abarah, Nahr of the Mosque of the people of Anbar, Nahr al-Bazzazin,¹ Nahr al-Dajaj,¹ Nahr al-Qalla'in, Nahr of *Tabiq*¹ and its Aqueduct, leading to the Tigris and the Sarat, Nahr of 'Isa,¹ and a Nahr in the *Harbiyyah* Quarter, fed by the Dujail. From these there were various conduits used for watering people's gardens and providing drinking water in the parts at a distance from the Tigris. Their channels had got silted up and their traces covered; fresh generations arose which knew not of them. The poor were compelled to drink the indigestible water of the wells, or else take the trouble to fetch the water of the Tigris from a long distance. 'Adud al-daulah gave orders that their main channels and feeders should be cleared. Over the main channels such as Nahr 'Isa, the Sarat, and the *Khandaq* (Ditch)², there had been bridges, which had fallen out of repair, been neglected and left unheeded; in such cases sometimes no road was possible that way, in others they had been slightly repaired by the people of the region according to their means and with a view to economy and putting off the evil day; constantly it would happen that cattle, women, children, or weaklings who crossed them would fall down. All these were built afresh and firmly as solid structures. Similar was the case with the Bridge of Baghdad. No-one could cross it without risk to his life, especially if he was on horseback; it was so narrow, frail and crowded. Strong and massively built barges were now selected for it, it was broadened till it became like a wide road, and was protected with railings. It was besides put under the care of watchers and guards.

¹ Mentioned in the Index to Le Strange's *Baghdad*.

² *i.e.*, the Ditch of Tahir, see Le Strange, p. 55.

The interests of the Sawad were put into the hands of competent persons, and this process commenced in the year preceding that with which we are dealing. There were serious floods, so supplies of rushes, earth and instruments of various sorts were collected, and many of the sluices and weirs were restored; clay, lime and cement were also provided and the inhabitants required—though leniently—(407) to put things in repair. They were guarded and inspected and the greatest care taken to protect them.

The commencement of the collection of the *kharaaj* was postponed to the New Year's Day of Mu'tadid,¹ whereas previously it had been levied before the ripening of the crops.² A sound system of taxation was imposed on the public, arbitrary additions and chicanery being abolished. Attention was paid to appeals, and rectification encouraged. Duties were removed from the pilgrim caravans, the various forms of outrage and violence to which they had been subjected stopped, water-wheels set up at the drinking-places on the road, wells dug, and springs made to flow. Abundance of the usual covering was conveyed to the Ka'bah, gifts were presented to the members of noble families resident in Medinah, and other indigent persons, and supplies of food furnished them both by sea and land. 'Adud al-daulah did the same by the two Mashhads of Ghari and Ha'ir, (peace be on those that lie in both!), and the cemeteries of the Quraish. People³ participated with each other in visitations and at the oratories after hostilities had been rife between them to the extent of mutual execration. They made a truce (408) and those tongues became mute which had brought about crimes and kindled riots, all owing to the protecting shadow of a strong ruler and a broad-minded administration.

¹ Above, ii., 248. The day was June 21.

² Cp. above, ii. 25.

³ Of different sects or tendencies.

Ample allowances were given to the *faqirs*,¹ jurists, exegetes, theologians, traditionalists, genealogists, poets, grammarians, metricians, physicians, astrologers, arithmeticians, and engineers; in 'Adud al-daulah's palace a place was set apart for men of special attainments and distinguished philosophers. This place was near his own apartment, and was indeed the chamber which was specially inaccessible, whither such persons could gather to communicate their ideas in safety from the unenlightened and vulgar. They were assigned allowances and honoraria which regularly reached them. So these studies were brought to life after they had been defunct²; their devotees reassembled after they had been dispersed, the young were encouraged to study and the old to instruct, talent had free scope, and there was a brisk market for ability, which had previously had none. Vast sums were paid out of the Treasury and expended on these purposes, and others were devoted to the relief of indigent members of the Moslem community, and beyond them to those of the protected communities. Permission was given to the vizier NASR B. HARUN to build churches and monasteries and to expend money on the poor of his community.

We were in full prospect of seeing these blessings increased, when there came the irresistible command of God³ (409). We have enumerated them that they may be read by posterity and by (or before) monarchs, for imitation and reproduction, in order that report may circulate their praises, and that God Almighty, knowing their intentions, may give them power and aid them well. Had it not been for certain insignificant points in 'Adud al-daulah's character which I prefer not to mention, in consideration of his numerous excellences, he would have

¹ A very early use of this word for "ascetic." The context seems to leave no doubt that this sense is intended.

² This appears to be a gross exaggeration.

³ 'Adud al-daulah's death.

realized every ambition in this world, and I might hope for his happiness in the next. God will cause him to profit by the good works which he sent before him, and forgive him for all else.

In this year Mutahhar b. 'Abdallah started from Baghdad for the regions below Wasit, in pursuit of Hasan b. 'Imran. He spent some time there besieging him, and his affairs falling into disorder, put an end to himself.

Account of the circumstances which led to Mutahhar's committing suicide.

After the death of 'Imran b. Shahin, when 'Adud al-daulah was free from his serious enemies, Bakhtiyar and Abu Taghlib being slain, had got possession of their lands and forces, and established himself in Baghdad, his thoughts were directed to the reconquest of Egypt especially, and after that to the territory of the Unbelievers, Byzantines and such as lie beyond them. He resented the neighbourhood of rebellious Nabataeans, and being defied by petty local chieftains, persons who took refuge in the reeds, lagoons and marshes; he ought, he felt, to exterminate them. In his saloon he alluded to Hasan b. 'Imran and the Marsh, and called for some one to relieve him of this anxiety. Both Abu'l-Wafa and Mutahhar offered their services, each declaring himself competent for the task. It was decided that Mutahhar should be sent. 'Adud al-daulah despatched an army under his command consisting of troops of various ranks, and supplied him well with arms, money, stores and craft. He put under his orders Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi of Kufah, who happened to be there at the time, and came back to Wasit to join him. A robe with other honours was bestowed on Mutahhar, who started on Saturday the middle of Safar (Sep. 12, 979). 'Adud al-daulah (410) appointed ABU'L-RAYYAN MOHAMMED B. MOHAMMED ISPAHANI to discharge his duties as vizier, administrator of affairs, and collector

of revenue, not because of his professional accomplishments, but as a man of experience, who by long practice was acquainted with procedure, acted as intermediary between 'Adud al-daulah and his viziers, and was their partner, as it were, in the execution of his orders.

When Mutahhar had established himself in Bazbuni, a district of Jamidah, he held a council and obtained statements of views; the plan adopted was however unsound, being one which had been repeatedly tried by his predecessors and proved to be useless. It consisted in damming up the outlets of the canals in order to dry up the Marsh wherein the Nabataean army took refuge, and the construction of a causeway whereby their fortresses could be approached on foot. Money was fruitlessly lavished on this project, the navigation of the Tigris was stopped, the dues from merchandise ceased, and the expenses of a siege with the enrollment of troops were incurred. Then came the floods rushing against the dams. Hasan b. 'Imran obtained access to some of those dams and breached them, so that the Marsh became filled with water; no sooner had Mutahhar dammed one side than breaches showed themselves in others, and if he guarded one point suffered injury at others. Further, an engagement took place on the water between him and Hasan b. 'Imran, wherein the former failed to inflict on the latter the crushing defeat that he had hoped. Mutahhar in the wars that he had waged had been used to decisive battles, and had never had to display patience and endurance. The new experience vexed and exhausted him; he suspected Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi of interchanging messages with the ruler of the Marsh, secretly receiving gifts and compliments from him, and in exchange divulging to him the secrets of the strategy employed against him and advising him in his interest. Mutahhar's austere and harsh character was notorious, and he was inclined to suspect evil; he conceived alarm, and began to feel personal anxiety, imagining that his

inability to cope with this affair would involve the loss of his rank, and indeed degradation from the vizierate ; for Abu'l-Wafa, his enemy and rival, (411) would now be able to drive home his charges and discoveries of his defects. He preferred death to falling under the control and into the power of his foes. On Tuesday 11 Sha'ban (March 3, 980) he took his seat in his saloon in his camp, and the clerks, officers and men of different orders came to salute him. He bade them cut their salutations short and withdraw, and himself retired to a tent which he used for privacy. Summoning his physician he requested to be bled ; his idea being that when the physician had departed he would undo the bandage of the wound, and bleed to death. He had however been bled shortly before, and had been taking aperients for an ailment that had befallen him before his departure from Baghdad. The physician accordingly informed him that he did not require bleeding. He rebuked the physician and bade him be gone. He then dismissed the slaves who were in waiting, and when he was alone, took his penknife and with it severed all the arteries of both his arms, which he then let sink into his clothes. His life issued at the vital places. A private attendant who came in observed that the chair whereon he was seated was full of blood ; his shouts brought people to the spot, who found Mutahhar still breathing, and supposed that he had been the victim of an assault. He however uttered enough to make it clear that it was his own work, and a few other utterances were remembered, to the effect that Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi had brought him to this, with some other words on this matter and others. He died immediately afterwards, and was taken to his native place, Karazin, in Fars, to be buried. This was an extraordinary occurrence, being a case of a man committing suicide for fear of his master's displeasure.—We ask God for His guidance, protection, and kindly overshadowing !

'Adud al-daulah now sent 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl to Mutahhar's camp to take charge of his effects, and to settle with the ruler of the Marsh on the basis of an immediate payment of money, (412) and a truce till his case should have been considered. This was shortly after 'Ubaidallah's return from his defeat of the Banu Shaiban. Going South he successfully accomplished his mission, brought money from Hasan b. 'Imran, and took a hostage. He returned with all this, entering the capital on Wednesday the middle of Dhu'l-Qa'dah (June 2, 980).

In this year Nasr b. Harun became sole vizier. He had originally been vizier; Mutahhar was presently associated with him. When Mutahhar departed this life, and Nasr b. Harun, who was resident in Fars and administrating it, became sole vizier, 'Adud al-daulah appointed as his deputy Abu'l-Rayyan Mohammed b. Mohammed.

In this year an envoy arrived from the ruler of the West, bringing a message, which he delivered. His entry took place in Sha'ban (began Feb. 21, 980) and his departure in Dhu'l-Qa'dah (began May 19). He was accompanied on his departure by the qadi Abu Mohammed 'Umani to deliver the reply.

In this year Hasanawaihi b. Husain died in his fortress Sarmaj.

In this year Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi was arrested in the Marsh and despatched to Fars, the reason for this being the words which were recollected as having been uttered by Mutahhar before his death. Abu'l-Wafa Tahir b. Mohammed was sent to seize his goods and chattels, and got possession of an enormous quantity of money, arms, and various kinds of stores which a man of his sort would not be expected to amass. His estates also were confiscated, and these were large, including most of the Irrigation of the Euphrates and even extending into other districts of the Sawad. Favour

was shown his brother AHMAD B. 'UMAR 'ALAWI, who was given charge of the pilgrimage, and on whom a handsome fief was conferred.

(413) In this year 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Mohammed called KURA'I was taken prisoner and paraded in Basrah and Baghdad, and afterwards executed and impaled by the side of his friend.

Account of the successful scheme whereby he was captured and killed.

This man was of humble origin, too base for any post, who had at one time been employed in the distribution of barley to the horses (*kura'*), whence he had got the name KURA'I. Presently he became connected with Mohammed Ibn Baqiyyah, who had in common with him the misfortune to be worthless; baseness constituted a bond between them. He rose with the rising fortunes of Ibn Baqiyyah, who finally made him his deputy in Basrah, and general collector from the revenue-farmers. He became a man of means, and during the rebellion of Ibn Baqiyyah in Wasit showed great vulgarity and used expressions about the monarchs which it would be unseemly for them to use of one another. Presently Ibn Baqiyyah was displeased with him, arrested and ruined him. When Bakhtiyar arrested Ibn Baqiyyah, he took Kura'i into his service; when Bakhtiyar being defeated resolved to flee,¹ Kura'i fled from him, and made his way to the Marshes, where he continued his habitual vulgarity. 'Adud al-daulah now arranged a scheme, of which he presently put only half into execution, against Kura'i; had he adopted the whole of it, he would also have dealt with the ruler of the Marsh in a manner which would have rendered an armed conflict unnecessary. A number of the leading men in Basrah were instructed to do 'Adud al-daulah the

¹ The account above, ii. 375, was slightly different.

service of addressing correspondence to this person, wherein they were to assure him of their goodwill and support, and that once he was in their neighbourhood they in complicity with the government of Basrah would stir up a riot, and deliver Basrah to him ; deluded hereby he would summon *Hasan b. 'Imran* to his assistance, and when *Hasan* had sailed into the Tigris, his retreat into the Marsh should be cut off, and men from ambushes throng him from above and below, and capture him.—*Kura'i* was infatuated enough to put faith in this promise, came quickly out, bringing with him *Hasan b. 'Imran* with all his army, to whom he stated that he had well-wishers and friends in Basrah, who had been writing to him ; Basrah (he said) is in our hands.—*Hasan b. 'Imran* was deluded thereby, and came out with his army ; when they got to *Matara*, they were attacked by the troops there (414), who engaged them ; which was an error, since to execute the plan fully they should have left them to make their way to Basrah. These troops then fought steadily against them, and presently *Kura'i* was captured, and *Hasan b. 'Imran* put to flight after a considerable portion of his fleet and of his troops had been taken. *Kura'i* was brought to Basrah, where he was paraded, and money demanded of him ; he was then sent to Baghdad, where he was paraded erect on an " ostrich " in a boat, with a *burnouse* upon his head. This was on Thursday —10 Sha'ban (March 11, 980). On Friday 2 Dhu'l-Hijjah (June 19, 980) he was cast to the elephants, which dispatched him. He was then impaled by *Ibn Baqiyyah's* side.

In this year an army was sent to 'Ain Tamr in pursuit of *Dabbah b. Mohammed Asadi* ; it has already¹ been mentioned that he was a brigand who shed blood, rendered the roads unsafe, plundered the villages, robbed and raped, violating the sanctity of the Mashhad in

¹ Above, ii. 338.

Ha'ir. When the army despatched against him came in sight, he escaped "with the skin of his teeth" to the desert, abandoning his followers and womenfolk, most of whom were taken captive. 'Ain Tamr was taken.

In this year 'Adud al-daulah arranged an alliance between himself and the Caliph *Ta'i'*, by marrying the Caliph's eldest daughter. The contract was ratified at the court of the Caliph and in the presence of the notables of the empire and the judges; the wedding-gift was 100,000 dinars. His hope was that she might bear him a son, who should be appointed successor so that the Caliphate might come to the Buwaihid house and the monarchy and Caliphate be united in the Dailemite dynasty.

In this year 'Adud al-daulah made an expedition to the Jabal and its districts, and passed through *Hamadhan*, (415) *Dinawar*, and *Nahawand*, with the intention of capturing the fortresses of *Hasanawaihi* b. *Husain* the Kurd, and settling accounts with *Fakhr al-daulah* for attacking him; requiting him for his open hostility and his endeavour to spread discord in the family, and supporting *Bakhtiyar* and *Ibn Baqiyyah*. Moreover he had manifested hostility towards *Mu'ayyid al-daulah* and entered into communication with *Qabus* b. *Washmagir*.

When *Hasanawaihi* b. *Husain* was dead, 'Adud al-daulah hoped that the demon who had been instigating discord between him and his brothers was now quieted, and sent *Abu Nasr Khurshid Yazdyar* the Treasurer with missives to *Mu'ayyid al-daulah* and *Fakhr al-daulah*, also to *Qabus* b. *Washmagir*. The missive to *Mu'ayyid al-daulah* contained commendation for his loyalty, which had been unaltered and unstained; that to *Fakhr al-daulah* contained remonstrance, flattery and exaggerated self-defence. That to *Qabus* b. *Washmagir* contained advice to abide by the covenant which he had contracted, to hold fast to his fortune, and avoid exposing himself

to what might precipitate his ruin.—Mu'ayyid al-daulah returned a correct reply, stating that he meant to abide within the limits of his loyalty, and would follow 'Adud al-daulah in his likes and dislikes. Fakhr al-daulah replied in the style of an equal, who recognized no prerogative of royalty or seniority, assigned no importance to his father's appointment, and had no intention of returning to his proper submission. Qabus replied with timidity, caution and suspense.

The sons of *Hasanawaihi* split into groups, and went their different ways. Their names were ABU'L-'ALA, 'ABD AL-RAZZAQ, ABU'L-NAJM, BADR, 'ASIM, ABU 'ADNAN, BAKHTIYAR, and 'ABD AL-MALIK. One group of them went off to Fakhr al-daulah, in open hostility to 'Adud al-daulah, whereas another betook themselves to the latter's court. Of the whole number Bakhtiyar separated himself from his brothers; he was in residence at Sarmaj, and in possession of the treasure and stores. He commenced by writing to 'Adud al-daulah, offering to surrender the whole to him, and expressing his desire to come under his protection and shelter himself under his wing. Presently however he changed his tone, and failed to (416) keep his word. 'Adud al-daulah now prepared to undertake an expedition to the Jabal, and bring these regions into order. He commenced by sending a series of armies one after another on in front, under ABU'L-FATH MUZAFFAR B. MOHAMMED, the Chamberlain, Abu Nasr Khwashadhah, and Abu'l-Wafa Tahir b. Mohammed. He departed from his palace to his camp at the Oratory on the Eastern side, after confirming Abu'l-Rayyan in his office of deputy-vizier in general with promotion in rank, and committing to him all the affairs of his realm. He remained for a long time in the camp to which he had gone till the armies which he had sent on in front had got far on their journeys. Abu Nasr Khwashadhah, who had gone forward to deliver messages, had made the way easy, by instructing

the officers and notables to put their dispositions at 'Adud al-daulah's service, and when he approached to surrender to him, offering them handsome fiefs, and in some cases giving secret gratuities and compliments. So when 'Adud al-daulah started he was met on the way by the good tidings that his army had entered *Hamadhan*, where the bulk of *Fakhr al-daulah's* officers and *Hasanawaihi's* troops had surrendered and come to meet his standard as deserters. He was met by *Abu'l-Hasan 'Ubaidallah b. Mohammed b. Hamdawaihi*, *Fakhr al-daulah's* vizier, with most of his court and the rest of his officers and retainers. Thus the cause of *Fakhr al-daulah* was ruined and he was compelled to leave his place and retire to the *Dailemite* country, whither he went and took up his quarters in a palace built by *Mu'izz al-daulah* in *Hausam*; and appealed for protection to the 'Alawid pretender who had control over that region.¹

'Adud al-daulah then went off to *Nahawand*, stormed the fortress *Sarmaj*, seized all its contents, and made himself master of other fortresses in this country. The strongholds surrendered their keys to him, and the ground revealed its treasures.

On this expedition he was attacked by an ailment which became recurrent, resembling epilepsy, which was followed by a brain-disease called *lethargos* (forgetfulness), only he concealed it. It is said that it commenced when he was in *Mausil*, only let no-one know of it.

¹ This is not known to *Ibn Isfandiyar*, who makes him take refuge with *Qabus*.

THE END.

